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THE SENSE OF DISTINCTION

If it is true, as I have endeavoured to establish, that, first, the dominant class constitutes a relatively autonomous space whose structure is defined by the distribution of economic and cultural capital among its members, each class fraction being characterized by a certain configuration of this distribution to which there corresponds a certain life-style, through the mediation of the habitus; that, second, the distribution of these two types of capital among the fractions is symmetrically and inversely structured; and that, third, the different inherited asset structures, together with social trajectory, command the habitus and the systematic choices it produces in all areas of practice, of which the choices commonly regarded as aesthetic are one dimension—then these structures should be found in the space of life-styles, i.e., in the different systems of properties in which the different systems of dispositions express themselves.¹ To endeavour to establish this, the whole set of survey data was subjected to correspondence analysis.²

As a first stage, after a methodical reading of the tables expressing the results of the survey (see appendix 3), the answers given by the members of the dominant class ($n = 467$) to various sets of questions (see the questionnaire, appendix 1) were analysed in order to determine whether the structures and explanatory factors varied according to the area of practice. These included: all the questions on knowledge or preferences in painting and music and on museum-going, which all measure legitimate competence; all the questions on the likelihood of producing a beautiful, interesting, meaningless or ugly photograph from each of the twenty-one subjects, which measure the aesthetic disposition; all the questions on the preferred singers, radio programmes and books, on knowledge of film actors and directors and on personal photography, which all measure middle-brow culture; all the choices as regards domestic interior, furniture,

cooking, clothes, the qualities of friends, through which ethical dispositions are more directly expressed, and so on. In all these analyses, the first factor opposes the fractions richest in economic capital to the fractions richest in cultural capital: the commercial employers and the higher-education teachers or cultural producers are situated at the two opposite extremes of the axis (see figures 11, 12), while the members of the professions, the executives and the engineers occupy intermediate positions. In the analysis based on the indicators of preference in middle-brow culture, the commercial employers are opposed most strongly to the secondary teachers (rather than the higher-education teachers or the artistic producers), in accordance with a logic already observed in the primary teachers' preferences for singers. In the analysis based on the indicators of ethical disposition, the artistic producers, who thereby assert their casualness and indifference to convention, are opposed to the teachers, the engineers and the public-sector executives, and occupy positions very close to those of the commercial employers (to whom they are very strongly opposed in other respects, identified in this case by the second factor).

Having thus identified the most pertinent indicators in each case, it was necessary, in order to avoid the over-loading resulting from the abundance of information gathered (see questionnaire, appendix 1), to eliminate from the final analysis—only the results of which are presented here—the questions which proved to be badly phrased (such as the questions on clothing or on types of books) or less classifying, in favour of questions (such as that on cooking) measuring much the same dispositions (the questions on photographic subjects were also excluded, and analysed separately). The data retained (for disjunctive coding) were thus those which concerned the qualities of an interior (twelve adjectives), the qualities of a friend (twelve adjectives), the style of meals served to friends (six possibilities), furniture purchases (six possibilities), preferred singers (twelve), preferred works of classical music (fifteen), visits to the Modern Art Museum or the Louvre, knowledge of composers (classified into four levels), opinions on art (five). To give the demonstration its full force, the characteristics treated as illustrative variables were age, father's occupation, qualifications and income; class fraction, which constitutes the most powerful explanatory factor, was not used as such in the analysis. (Exactly the same operations were applied in analysing the responses of the middle and working classes; see chapters 6 and 7.)

Analysis of the correspondences makes it possible to isolate, through successive divisions, different coherent sets of preferences stemming from distinct and distinctive systems of dispositions, defined as much by their interrelationship as by the relationship between each of them and its social conditions of production. The indicators measuring cultural capital (which vary, of course, in approximately inverse ratio to the indicators of economic capital) make the strongest contribution to the constitution of the first factor (which represents 5.8 percent of the total inertia as against 3.6 percent and 3.2 percent respectively for the second and third factors).³ Thus on the left side of figures 11 and 12 are those who, with the lowest incomes, have the

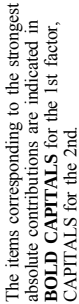


Figure 12 (shown in grey) Variants of the dominant taste. Analysis of correspondences. Plane diagram of 1st and 2nd axes of inertia: the space of individuals of the different fractions.

greatest competence, who know the largest number of musical works (6 percent) and composers (7.7 percent), who prefer the works demanding the 'purest' aesthetic disposition, such as the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (1.8 percent) or the *Art of Fugue* (1.7 percent), who are most capable of applying this aesthetic disposition to less consecrated areas, such as song or cinema or even cooking or interior decoration, who are interested in abstract painting, visit the Modern Art Museum and expect their friends to be artistic (2.4 percent). On the right side are those who receive the highest incomes and have the lowest competence, who know few musical works or composers, like their friends to be conscientious (1.5 percent) and whose tastes run to second-rank, *déclassé* or classical works of bourgeois culture—*L'Arlésienne* (3 percent), the *Blue Danube* (2.9 percent), *La Traviata* (2.1 percent), the *Hungarian Rhapsody*, Buffet, Vlaminc, Utrillo, Raphael (2.3 percent), Watteau, Leonardo—and to light opera—Guétary (1.8 percent), Mariano—or the most 'popular' singers—Petula Clark (2.2 percent).⁴

It can be seen intuitively that these indicators of the different life-styles fall into a pattern which corresponds to the structure of the space of life-styles as it has been established, and therefore to the structure of positions. And indeed, in terms of individuals, the most clear-cut opposition is set up between the commercial and, to a lesser extent, the industrial employers, and the higher-education teachers and artistic producers, who are virtually indistinguishable at this level of analysis. The clusters of points representing the members of the same fraction are distributed in the expected pattern.⁵ Projection of the determinants of position (income, qualifications, social origin, age) as supplementary variables confirms that this structure corresponds to the structure of the distribution of the types of capital; educational capital is distributed along the first axis, from zero qualification to post-licence degrees, while incomes have an opposite (but less dispersed and non-linear) distribution.

The industrial and commercial employers closest to the extremity of the first axis are those in whose overall capital cultural capital has least weight; those situated close to the professions are heads of businesses handling cultural goods (antique-dealers, record-dealers, the book trade etc.), all possessing greater cultural capital than the average for their fraction (licence or *grande école*). Except for those who sell cultural goods, the commercial employers are very close to middle-brow culture in another respect (brought out by the third factor) in their cultural preferences (*Blue Danube*, Guétary, Petula Clark) and also in the choices most strongly involving ethical dispositions (in their ideal interior or friend they seek qualities often chosen by the working and middle classes, such as 'easy to maintain', 'practical', and 'conscientious', 'level-headed'); in this respect they are opposed to the industrial employers, who are closer overall to bourgeois taste.

It is certain that, with respect to culture, language and life-style, the boundary with the working classes is much less marked, and situated much higher, in the self-employed sector (especially in the commercial occupations) than among wage-earners, where it appears at the level of clerical workers. As in their eating habits, small employers are much closer to the working class in their speech, their tastes (for sport, music-hall etc.) and their values than clerical workers, who are much more strongly opposed to the working class in all these respects but much closer in their political positions.

The higher-education teachers, who have very high competence even in less consecrated areas, such as cinema, occupy the other extremity of the first axis. Their preferences are balanced between a certain audacity and a prudent classicism; they refuse the facile pleasures of right-bank taste without venturing into the artistic avant-garde, exploring 'rediscoveries' rather than 'discoveries', the rarest works of the past rather than the contemporary avant-garde (warm, studied, imaginative interior, Braque, Picasso, Breughel and sometimes Kandinsky, *Firebird Suite*, *Art of Fugue*, *Well-Tempered Clavier*).

The members of the professions occupy an intermediate position and divide into two sub-groups differing mainly in respect of cultural capital. The larger group, situated near the pole occupied by the artistic producers, mainly includes Parisian architects, barristers (*avocats*), doctors (and only a few dentists or pharmacists); the second sub-set, closer to the employers' pole, largely consists of relatively old provincials, dentists, solicitors (*notaires*) etc. The former choose, for example, the rarest works, Braque, Kandinsky, the *Concerto for the Left Hand*, the most 'intellectual' films (*Exterminating Angel*, *Salvatore Giuliano*), and very often know the directors of the films mentioned, whereas the latter declare the most banal preferences of middle-brow taste, Vlaminck, Renoir, the *Blue Danube*, and see 'wide audience' films (*Les dimanches de Ville d'Avray*) or historical spectacles (*The Longest Day*).

Thus, given that the differences linked to the overall volume of capital are partially neutralized (by the fact that the analysis is applied to the members of the same class, who are roughly equal in this respect), each individual's position in the space defined by the first two factors depends essentially on the structure of his assets, that is, on the relative weights of the economic capital and cultural capital he possesses (axis 1), and his social trajectory (axis 2), which, through the corresponding mode of acquisition, governs his relationship to those assets.⁶ The greatest absolute contributions to the second factor are made by the indicators of the dispositions associated with more or less seniority in the bourgeoisie; mainly manifested in the relation to legitimate culture and in the nuances of the art of living, they separate individuals who have much the same volume of cultural capital. Within each fraction, the second factor opposes those individuals whose families have long been members of the bourgeoisie to those who have recently entered it, the

parvenus: those who have the supreme privilege, seniority in privilege, who acquired their cultural capital by early, daily contact with rare, 'distinguished' things, people, places and shows, to those who owe their capital to an acquisitive effort directed by the educational system or guided by the serendipity of the autodidact, and whose relationship to it is more serious, more severe, often more tense.

This (second) factor naturally distributes the fractions according to the proportion of their members who originate from the bourgeoisie or from another class: on one side the professions and the higher-education teachers (and, to a lesser extent, the private-sector executives), and on the other the engineers, the public-sector executives and the secondary teachers, categories which represent the main routes (via academic success) into the dominant class, while the employers divide fairly equally between the two poles. The former, grouped on the positive side of the second factor, have in common the fact that they (initially) acquired their capital by familiarization within the family, and they present signs of long-standing membership of the bourgeoisie such as inherited furniture (3.1 percent), purchases from antique-dealers (2.4 percent), a predilection for a comfortable interior and traditional cooking (1.5 percent), visits to the Louvre and the Modern Art Museum (1.8 percent), and a taste for the *Concerto for the Left Hand*, which proves to be almost always associated with piano-playing. The others, who owe the essential part of their culture to the educational system and the relatively late learning encouraged and entailed by a high scholastic culture, are opposed to them by their preference for friends who are 'determined' (2.6 percent) and 'pragmatic' (3.6 percent), rather than, as at the opposite pole, cultivated or artistic, their taste for clean and tidy (3.2 percent), sober and discreet (1.6 percent) interiors, and works of mainstream bourgeois culture, such as the *Sabre Dance* (1.5 percent), Utrillo and Van Gogh or, in another order, Jacques Brel or Aznavour, Buffet and *Rhapsody in Blue*, all indices of upward mobility. They are characterized by prudent and therefore relatively homogeneous choices. Never stooping to works suspected of banality or vulgarity, such as *L'Arlésienne* or the *Blue Danube*, they rarely venture into the slightly less 'canonical' works, such as *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*, which are often chosen by the cultural intermediaries and artistic producers.

Projection of the father's occupation, the respondent's age, qualification, income etc. as illustrative variables shows that the principle of division is indeed social trajectory. The opposition is established between those members of the dominant class who are both older and drawn from the oldest or economically richest fractions (professionals, industrial and commercial employers), and those whose father was a clerical worker, junior executive or manual worker, who are relatively less rich in economic capital and younger (see figure 13). The complex relationship which emerges between the

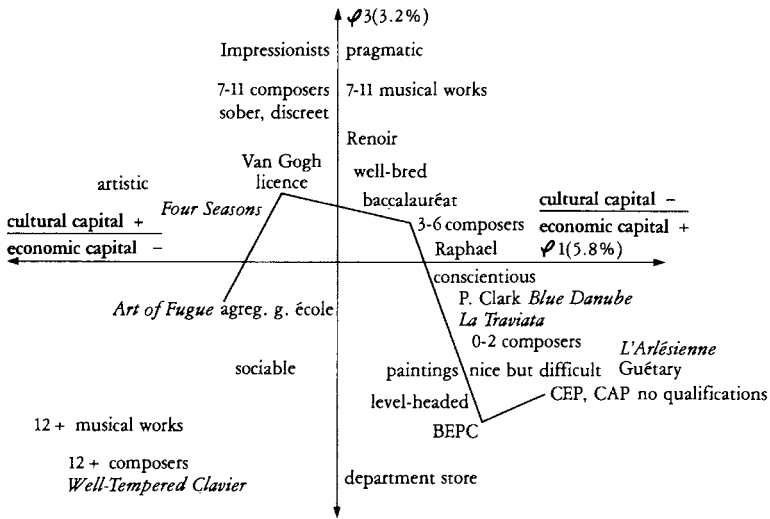


Figure 13 Variants of the dominant taste. Analysis of correspondences: simplified plane diagram of 1st and 3rd axes of inertia.

This simplified diagram only includes variables which make an absolute contribution equal to or greater than 1.5%. The only illustrative variable represented is educational qualification.

positions of the fractions in social space, seniority in the bourgeoisie and age (also linked to the first two factors), and which is very important in understanding a number of ethical or aesthetic differences between members of the dominant class—for example, differences in sports or clothing—becomes clear when one knows that the proportion of parvenus rises as one moves from the dominant to the dominated fractions (and, a fortiori, the proportion of those who owe their entry to the accumulation of scholastic capital—the dispersion of the executives is no doubt partly due to the fact that the lower their social origin, the more likely they are to achieve these positions at a relatively advanced age).⁷

The third factor which, at the level of individuals, sets the majority of the teachers and especially the artists—who are even more inclined than the teachers to mark their refusal of bourgeois taste—and also the commercial employers, in opposition to the most typically bourgeois (by origin, place of residence and education) of the professionals, industrialists and executives tends chiefly to characterize the ‘bourgeois taste’ of these latter categories by opposing it to the tastes of all the other fractions, principally to the better equipped and more daring ‘intellectual taste’, but also, secondarily, to a taste defined negatively and combining features of middle-brow taste and popular

taste (that of the commercial employers). 'Bourgeois' taste, a modal taste or taste à la mode—as is shown by the strength of the preference for the Impressionist painters (4.2 percent), confirmed by the choice of Van Gogh (2.1 percent) or Renoir (2.1 percent)—is based on an average competence (knowledge of 7 to 11 works, 3.3 percent, and 7 to 11 composers, 3.2 percent). It is fundamentally a taste for tradition (with a preference for traditional French meals, 1.3 percent, for furniture from antique shops, 1.0 percent, for 'well-bred' friends, 1.5 percent) and a sort of temperate hedonism (e.g., its favourite interior is comfortable but also sober and discreet, 1.8 percent, and cosy, 1.2 percent), moderate even in its audacities (with the choice of the *Firebird Suite* or *Rhapsody in Blue*, 1.3 percent, or the preference for 'pragmatic' friends, 1.7 percent—as opposed to 'artistic'). It is chiefly defined by opposition to a set of indicators which characterize a culture that is both more 'scholastic' (knowledge of 12 or more composers, 3 percent, knowledge of 12 or more works, 1.9 percent, preference for Leonardo, 1.6 percent etc.) and—relatively—more daring (with Kandinsky, 1.4 percent, and Picasso, 1.3 percent), but also more ascetic (Goya or the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, furniture from the Flea Market etc.).

THE MODES OF APPROPRIATION OF THE WORK OF ART

But this statistical analysis would not really fulfil its purpose of verification if it did not help one to understand the underlying logic of the distributions it establishes; if, having proved that volume and structure of capital, synchronically and diachronically defined, constitute the principle of division of practices and preferences, it were not possible to bring to light the intelligible, 'socio-logical' relationship between, for example, an asymmetric asset structure biased towards culture and a particular relation to the work of art, and to explain, that is, understand completely, why the most ascetic form of the aesthetic disposition and the culturally most legitimate and economically cheapest practices, e.g., museum-going, or, in sport, mountain-climbing or walking, are likely to occur particularly frequently among the fractions (relatively) richest in cultural capital and (relatively) poorest in economic capital.

One's immediate intuition should be followed—for the purpose of testing it—when it sees in the teachers' taste for the austerity of pure works, Bach or Braque, Brecht or Mondrian, the same ascetic disposition that is expressed in all their practices, and when it senses in these seemingly innocent choices the symptom of a similar, but merely better-hidden, relationship to sexuality or money; or when it divines the whole view of the world and of existence that is expressed in the taste for the delights of boulevard theatre or the Impressionists, for Renoir's rosy women, Boudin's sunlit beaches or Dufy's stage sets.



A Cosy Samovar-Style Bedroom

Isabelle d'Ornano, the Minister's sister-in-law, has made her bedroom the centre-piece of her apartment. A baroque masterpiece.

'I know how I want to live. Decoration is a way of expressing it.'

Scorning fashion and its conventions, she has applied this principle throughout her apartment—a rhapsody of colours, imitation green marble and Venetian blinds—and especially in her bedroom. An almost timeless and yet very up-to-date room, which also serves as Isabelle's study when she is working (marketing the 'Sisley' range of cosmetics her husband launched three years ago), as a TV room for her five children and sometimes, since it communicates with the reception rooms, as a second salon for big dinner parties. Originally it was a big dull library, sumptuous and boring; she has turned it into something warm and 'cosy', as she puts it.

First, by having a circular balcony built around the walls almost half-way up. . . . By organizing movement in the room

around a centrepiece: the bed. And quite a bed it is! . . . Isabelle d'Ornano likes 'muscular' furniture and wanted 'a bed which suggests a gondola.' Her upholsterer had his work cut out for a year and a half!

By flouting all the classical rules and combining different styles of furniture—in fact, every style. A Louis XVI inlaid roll-top desk, upholstered 'tub' easy-chairs and Second Empire fireside chairs, an enormous eighteenth-century crystal chandelier from the La Granja works, bought from a Madrid antique-dealer, one or two little late-nineteenth-century English stands holding plants, books and an orchid ('the only flower that lasts'), two glass lamps bought for a song at Drouot, with modern shades, two tiered bedside tables recently ordered from a cabinet-maker.

By mingling colours and fabrics with a certain audacity. . . .

By sprinkling the *ensemble*, not with knick-knacks ('they're pointless') but with dozens of photos . . . With wicker baskets full of bric-à-brac. With children's mugs bristling with pencils. With novels, exhibition catalogues,

magazines on interior decoration (she cuts out the useful addresses and sticks them in scrap-books), scattered all over the place. And other very personal details, such as the painted *faïence* tiles surrounding the chimney-piece . . . In short, by adopting an original, personal style of decoration. So much so that

designer Henri Samuel, who acted as technical adviser, replied, when I asked him to define this bedroom: 'It's pure d'Ornano, and that's a compliment!'

D. de Saint-Sauveur, *Le Figaro-Magazine* (*Madame Figaro*), 7 October, 1978.

As is clearly seen in theatre or painting (but the same is true of the other arts), what emerge through the discontinuous or disparate indices which have to be used to take measurements are two antagonistic relations to the work of art or, more precisely, two modes of aesthetic appropriation expressing two opposite asset structures. Thus, how is one to explain why the median price paid for a theatre ticket rises from 4.17 francs among teachers (less than is paid by junior executives in the private sector, 4.61, and the public sector, 4.77) to 6.09 for public-sector senior executives, 7.00 for the professions, 7.58 for private-sector executives, 7.80 for commercial employers and 9.19 for industrialists—which gives one the ordinary hierarchy of the fractions distributed by volume of economic capital?⁸ And how does one explain why the hierarchy of the fractions is inverted if their rate of representation in the cheapest theatres is considered? If the elective affinity between relatively inexpensive avant-garde theatre and the intellectual fractions, or between the much more expensive boulevard theatre and the dominant classes is understood superficially—i.e., as simply a direct effect of the relationship between economic cost and economic means—one is liable to forget that through the price they are willing to pay for access to a work of art, or, more precisely, through the relationship between the material cost and the expected 'cultural' benefit, each fraction expresses its conception of what specifically makes the value of the work of art and of the legitimate way of appropriating it.

The same logic explains why the desired price makes the strongest absolute contribution to the first factor brought to light by analysis of the correspondences of a set of characteristics of a sample of Parisian theatres and their audiences (C.S. XIV). Or again, why the propensity to judge the admission charge of a museum as being cheap or very cheap rises very strongly, in relation to the ordinary hierarchy, as one moves from the fractions (relatively) rich in cultural capital to those rich in economic capital, with the professions being distinguished only by a bi-modal distribution (reasonable—very cheap).

For certified or apprentice intellectuals, activities such as theatre-going,

visits to exhibitions or 'art' cinemas, performed with a frequency and regularity which take away any 'extra-ordinary' quality, are in a sense governed by the pursuit of maximum 'cultural profit' for minimum economic cost, which implies renunciation of all ostentatious expense and all gratifications other than those given by symbolic appropriation of the work ('You go to the theatre to see the play, not to show off your wardrobe,' as one of them said). They expect the symbolic profit of their practice from the work itself, from its rarity and from their discourse about it (after the show, over a drink, or in their lectures, their articles or their books), through which they will endeavour to appropriate part of its distinctive value. By contrast, for the dominant fractions a 'night out' at the theatre is an occasion for conspicuous spending. They 'dress up to go out' (which costs both time and money), they buy the most expensive seats in the most expensive theatres just as in other areas they buy 'the best there is'; they go to a restaurant after the show.⁹ Choosing a theatre is like choosing the right shop,¹⁰ marked with all the signs of 'quality' and guaranteeing no 'unpleasant surprises' or 'lapses of taste': a playwright who knows his job, who commands 'the springs of comedy, the potential of a situation, the comic or biting force of the mot juste', in short, a goldsmith or jeweller, a past master in the 'art of construction' who has 'the tricks of the dramatist's art' at his fingertips;¹¹ actors known for their ability to enter the 'twenty-four carat' role he offers them and to place the eager docility of a perfect thespian technician at the 'service' of the polytechnician playwright;¹² and a play which 'gives every sort of enjoyment, without a hint of self-indulgence or vulgarity', which is designed to 'relieve a well-balanced audience by bringing it back into balance with healthy laughter', because it only asks questions which 'everyone asks himself', from which 'the only escape' is 'humour and incurable optimism'.

The implications of the opposition between bourgeois theatre and avantgarde theatre have already been explored (see chapter 4). To remain within the limits of the data provided directly by the survey, we may glance at the oppositions found in the field of the cinema (see figure 14), where the taste for 'ambitious' works that demand a large cultural investment is opposed to the taste for the most spectacular feature films, overtly designed to entertain (differences which are often accompanied by differences in admission prices and in the geographical location of the cinemas). No doubt there are some 'all-purpose' films which gain the unanimous approval of the various fractions of the dominant class (and their critics)—in the list offered, *The Trial*, 'a strong, solemn work of intellectual courage, not to be missed' (*Le Monde*, 25 December 1962), *Rocco and His Brothers*, by Visconti, with Alain Delon, and *Divorce Italian Style*, with Mastroianni, an 'honest commercial film' for *Combat* (2 June 1962), a comedy 'of astonishing cynicism, cruelty and audacity' for *Le Monde* (22 May 1962). However, there are very marked divergences of cinematic taste between the two

Secondary teachers	Professions	Industrial and commercial employers
Divorce Italian Style	Divorce Italian Style	The Longest Day
Exterminating Angel	The Trial	Divorce Italian Style
Rocco and His Brothers	Les dim. de V. d'Avray	55 Days at Peking
Salvatore Giuliano	Rocco and His Brothers	The Trial
Singing in the Rain	Exterminating Angel	Vice and Virtue
The Suitor	The Leopard	Rocco and His Brothers
The Trial	The Magnificent Seven	Le glaive et la balance
Les dim. de V. d'Avray	The Longest Day	Singing in the Rain
Le glaive et la balance	Singing in the Rain	The Suitor
The Leopard	The Suitor	Les dim. de V. d'Avray
The Longest Day	Ballade pour un voyou	The Leopard
The Magnificent Seven	Le glaive et la balance	Exterminating Angel
Ballade pour un voyou	Salvatore Giuliano	L'abominable homme
L'abominable homme	Vice and Virtue	Ballade pour un voyou
55 Days at Peking	Imperial Venus	The Magnificent Seven
Voyage à Biarritz	55 Days at Peking	Voyage à Biarritz
Le boucanier des îles	Voyage à Biarritz	Salvatore Giuliano
Vice and Virtue	L'abominable homme	Le boucanier des îles
Imperial Venus	Le boucanier des îles	Imperial Venus

These are the films chosen by the Parisians. The respondents from the Lille area were offered a different list (based on the films then showing); their choices were organized in a similar structure.

Figure 14 Films seen (in order of preference): I.

extremities, with the professions, as usual, in the middle. Thus the industrial and commercial employers choose historical films, like *The Longest Day*, a 'colossal reconstruction' of the 'most spectacular battle' of World War II (*Le Monde*, 12 October 1962), 'blockbusters' like *55 Days at Peking*, 'an excellent example of box-office movie-making', 'sumptuous spectacles, deliberately stripped of intellectual content, which show to packed audiences because they know how to appeal to the public's capacity for wonderment' (*Le Monde*, 17 May 1963), 'commercially successful' films like Vadim's *Vice and Virtue*, a 'solidly constructed film of undeniable virtuosity' which 'makes a moderate sadism available to all' (*France-Soir*, 2 March 1963), and comic films and actors, Fernandel, Darry Cowl etc. By contrast, the secondary teachers, who can almost always name the directors and actors of the films they have seen, systematically exclude popular comedies and big commercial successes, and give their preference to 'classic' films (almost all consecrated in histories of the cinema) such as Buñuel's *Exterminating Angel*, which the *Le Monde* critic (4 May 1963) compares to Sartre's *Huis Clos*, *Salvatore Giuliano*, 'an enthralling and very beautiful film by Francesco Rosi which retraces a moment in Sicilian life with the rigour of an historian and the lyricism of an artist' (*Le Monde*, 6 March 1963) and finally *The Suitor*, a comedy by Pierre Étaix, which the critic predicts will 'one day take its place in the great tradition which runs from Mack Sennett to Tati, via Max Linder, Chaplin, Keaton and a few others' (*Le Monde*, 16 February 1963). It is significant that in order to justify the injunctions which alert readers expect from 'serious' newspapers ('essential viewing', 'not to be missed' etc.), a phrase can be used in one place ('certainly not a harmless entertainment'—*Le Monde*, 25

December 1962—about *The Trial*) which in another would be an irrevocable condemnation.

In contrast to 'bourgeois' theatre, the opera or exhibitions (not to mention premieres and gala nights), which are the occasion or pretext for social ceremonies enabling a select audience to demonstrate and experience its membership of high society in obedience to the integrating and distinguishing rhythms of the 'society' calendar, the art museum admits anyone (who has the necessary cultural capital), at any moment, without any constraints as regards dress, thus providing none of the social gratifications associated with great 'society' occasions. Moreover, unlike the theatre and, especially, music-hall and variety shows, it always offers the purified, sublimated pleasures demanded by the pure aesthetic and, rather like the library in this respect, it often calls for an austere, quasi-scholastic disposition, oriented as much towards the accumulation of experience and knowledge, or the pleasure of recognition and deciphering, as towards simple delight.

The middle-class visitors and the teachers—and secondarily the engineers—are those most inclined to associate the museum with a library ('What do I like most? A library. It contains works of value and you need to want to go there.' Engineer, Cambrai, age 44, Lille Museum). The same groups are most inclined to combine contemplation with acts of recording (e.g., taking notes) and accumulation (e.g., buying reproductions). One also finds that the teachers are those who most often refuse to dissociate direct experience of the work from erudite knowledge (they are the ones who most often refuse the judgement, 'I don't need to know who painted the picture or how; what counts is whether it is pleasurable to look at').

Behind the obligatory exaltation of the austere severity of the museum and the 'meditation' it encourages, there are sometimes glimpses of the true nature of the visit—an always somewhat laborious task which the devotees set themselves and duly perform with methodical determination, rewarded as much by the sense of a duty done as by the immediate pleasure of contemplation. 'The museum left me with an impression of silence. Emptiness, too, but perhaps because of the silence. That helps you concentrate on the works, helps them sink into you. I wasn't bowled over by it, it's very tedious. Looking at everything systematically is tiring. It was a self-imposed discipline. It's constraining and you get indigestion. I think I got through it quickly because I wanted to be able to tell myself I'd done that museum. It was very monotonous, one picture after another. They ought to put something different in between the paintings to break it up a bit' (engineer, Amiens, age 39, Lille Museum). These comments are reminiscent of those of the conservator of the New York Metropolitan Museum, who sees his museum as 'a gymnasium in which the visitor is able to develop his eye muscles.'¹³

It is understandable that as one moves from avant-garde concerts or plays, museums with a high transmission level and low tourist appeal or avant-garde exhibitions to spectacular exhibitions, major concerts or the 'classical' theatres, and finally to the boulevard theatre and variety shows, the rate of representation of the different fractions distributed in order of decreasing cultural capital and increasing economic capital—i.e., teachers, administrative executives, engineers, professionals, industrial and commercial employers—tends to change systematically and continuously, so that the hierarchy of the fractions distributed by their weight in the public tends to be inverted.¹⁴ The teachers and the industrial or commercial employers occupy symmetrically opposite positions in the diagrams of correlation between the rates of attendance at two categories of shows presenting opposite properties: on the one hand, concerts and art exhibitions, on the other, variety shows and trade exhibitions. In each case the members of the professions and the senior executives are in an intermediate position. The professions, under-represented in use of libraries and museums, are more represented among exhibition visitors than museum visitors, and go to the theatre relatively frequently (to 'boulevard' plays or musicals rather than classical or avant-garde theatre).

The museum, a consecrated building presenting objects withheld from private appropriation and predisposed by economic neutralization to undergo the 'neutralization' defining the 'pure' gaze, is opposed to the commercial art gallery which, like other luxury emporia ('boutiques', antique shops etc.) offers objects which may be contemplated but also bought, just as the 'pure' aesthetic dispositions of the dominated fractions of the dominant class, especially teachers, who are strongly over-represented in museums, are opposed to those of the 'happy few' in the dominant fractions who have the means of materially appropriating works of art. The whole relation to the work of art is changed when the painting, the statue, the Chinese vase or the piece of antique furniture belongs to the world of objects available for appropriation, thus taking its place in the series of the luxury goods which one possesses and enjoys without needing to prove the delight they give and the taste they illustrate, and which, even when not personally possessed, belong to the status attributes of one's group, decorating the offices one works in or the salons one frequents.

In the pages of a journal like *Connaissance des Arts*, we discover the series into which the dominant fractions insert the work of art: the universe of luxury objects, distinguished and distinctive, selected and selective. In a single issue (November 1973) we find advertised: jewels, furs, perfumes, carpets, tapestries, antique furniture, clocks, chandeliers, bronzes, porcelains, faience, silverware, leather-bound books, luxury cars (Volvo, SM, Mercedes, Rolls etc.), luxury cigarettes (Craven, Benson and Hedges, Kent, Rothmans), haute couture (Dior Boutique and Old

A Grand Bourgeois 'Unique among His Kind'*

S., a lawyer aged 45, is the son of a lawyer and his family belongs to the Parisian *grande bourgeoisie*. His wife, the daughter of an engineer, studied at the Paris Political Science Institute and does not work. Their four children are at the 'best' private Catholic secondary schools in Paris. They live in a very big apartment (more than 300 square metres) in the 16th arrondissement: a very large entrance-hall, a spacious living-room, a dining-room, a study, and the bedrooms (his office is not in the apartment).

In the living-room, modern furniture (big cushions, a large couch, armchairs), antiquities, 'a Greek head in stone, authentic and rather beautiful' (a wedding present), an object which the head of the household calls his 'personal altar' ('a rather attractive religious thing I managed to get off my parents'—his father collects all sorts of objets d'art, and has bought, among other things, 'all sorts of stuff, enamel-work, chalices, crosses . . . from a sort of Russian, a dealer'), 'a terracotta thing from the Tang dynasty', bought from an antique shop in Formosa where he went accompanied by ten specialists, several paintings, a Paul Sérusier ('It is rather charming but, that said, I'd just as soon put a modern picture in its place'), in the dining-room a Dutch still life.

'Unique among its kind'

When he buys objects d'art, 'it's in no way an investment.' What counts for him

is 'first of all the beauty of the thing, the object, and secondly, not whether it is unique, but whether it's made in a craftsmanlike way': 'you can make it again, but you can also make a mess of it. So it becomes unique among its kind, because you can't copy the same object, the same subject, twice . . . What makes the beauty of a face, the beauty of a sculpture, is the smile, the look. . . . You can't do it twice. You can make a plaster copy but you can't do it again in the same material, the material counts more, anyway as much as the mass . . . I'd love to own a very fine bronze. There are bronzes that are absolutely extraordinary.'

* All these interviews (this one and those of the same type that follow) were carried out in 1974, with the aim of collecting, as systematically as possible, the most significant features of each of the life-styles that had emerged from analysis of the survey, which had already reached a fairly advanced stage. Given previous knowledge of the generative formula of his or her properties and practices, it was decided to lead the interviewee (who was often a relation or acquaintance of the interviewer) methodically towards the most central areas of his or her life-style (hence the heterogeneity of the themes discussed, which contrasts with the forced homogeneity of statistical survey data). This was done by supplying all the reassurances and reinforcements that are expected in ordinary life from someone in whom one 'confides'. Finally, by tightening the discourse, through alternating use of direct, semi-direct and indirect quotation, the aim has been to intensify and so make palpable the concrete image of the systematic totality, the life-style, which statistical analysis dissolves even as it brings it to light.

'The nouveau-riche approach'

He does not often visit commercial galleries and does not 'systematically' inspect antique shops or the Drouot auction rooms. He buys (an objet d'art, a piece of furniture . . .) because it 'pleases him at that moment'. He is somewhat condescending about people who 'want to invest and haven't got the time': 'They haven't got the time to be personally interested. What essentially interests them is not what pleases them but what has value.' So they club together and 'pay in—francs a year. They delegate other people to purchase for them. On the one hand, investment, and on the other, total incompetence. If you stuck a piece of shit on the wall, it would be all the same to them as long as someone tells them the shit is worth money. That's the nouveau-riche approach, wanting to show off that you've got something . . . or that you're capable of having something. It's like hiring an interior designer, delegating someone.'

'You've looked for it for a long time and at last you've found it'

'The object has an inward value, an emotional value, when you've wanted it, looked for it, for a long time. That was what you wanted and at last, by a stroke of luck, you've found it . . . it's a revelation. . . . When it's for my pleasure, price doesn't come into it, it's like the organ (a gadget, it's electronic), I want it and I have it . . . Once again, you normally keep within your means; I wouldn't buy Chartres Cathedral.' (He would have 'loved to own a church and renovate it . . . What I find beautiful is stone, the shape of the stones, vaults,

stone is beautiful.' He comes from a Catholic family but no longer practices; he makes frequent, half-ironic religious references.)

'For my personal enjoyment'

For his country house in Burgundy, a very big one ('a thousand square metres to furnish, after all!'), almost a 'mistress', he bought furniture from 'a rag-and-bone man': 'I came across a chap, a junk dealer, who had solid wood furniture, real country-style, and I bought other bits and pieces, stuffed animals', including stuffed boars 'which outraged everyone, except me . . . because they are funny. Pleasure is what is fun.

'I'm irritated by people who buy things just to show them off, to say they've got them or put them in a particular place. The value isn't what counts, it's the pleasure it gives you. . . . I bought the boars for my personal enjoyment, or simply because I found it was funny, a joke, or because it annoyed other people.' The house is 'too damp to put a decent piano in it' but he is 'going to get a grand piano. . . . At the casino, they are throwing out old grand pianos . . . perhaps they have a note or two missing.'

'Heirlooms? Don't make me laugh'

The inherited objects with which he has furnished the house are of little interest to him. When his wife reminds him that there are some, he replies: 'Heirlooms? Don't make me laugh, there have been three bits of furniture.' She enumerates them: 'When we were getting married, Aunt X. popped off. I inherited a certain amount of silver: first legacy. Then there was Madame C.: second legacy. Then

Mademoiselle L.: third legacy.' 'So we have a certain amount of china, old bits and pieces and furniture. Furniture has never been much of a problem for us because we inherited a certain amount. Fourth legacy, my in-laws got rid of some of their property. We got some armchairs. . . .'

If he does not like this furniture, he 'chucks it out': 'not too much clutter'. 'You need a big enough apartment, rooms which allow you a certain inner silence, uncluttered, and then on the other hand, you need rooms containing all the personal objects which are never souvenirs—they can go into the dustbin—but objects you like to have around you.' He 'detests travel souvenirs' and never brings any back ('except the thing I just mentioned, the Chinese terracotta. . . . I've bought little knick-knacks and trinkets that we've distributed to all and sundry, but we've never cluttered ourselves up. . . . Looking around, you wouldn't know we'd travelled. The local souvenir, bought on the spot, has no interest whatsoever'). Besides, when you're travelling, it's better to keep an open mind, 'walk around with your hands in your pockets and look around you, but without having one eye glued to a view-finder' (in the Far East, his wife recalls, 'we took photos', but, she adds, 'we looked at them, showed them round once or twice', and now they are 'at the bottom of the cupboard').

'Many hours in museums, for the pleasure of it, in Holland and Italy'

He has a painting studio in which he spends a lot of time ('He likes twirling a

brush', his wife emphasizes), but he considers his efforts 'of no interest' and prefers not to talk about them. On the other hand, he readily confesses to having spent 'many hours in museums, for the pleasure of it, in Holland and Italy.' He was 'very struck, educated, by Italian painting . . . Leonardo, Venetian and Sieneſe paintings, all the pictures in the Villa Borghese, Botticelli.' He is also 'very responsive to Dutch painting because of its character, Franz Hals, Rembrandt. It's a totally different sort of painting, laid on much thicker. . . . There are also some Matisse and Cocteau drawings.' Painting 'doesn't have to be' figurative for him to appreciate it. But he is 'left completely cold by practical-joke painting', for example, a white canvas 'slashed this way and that.' His wife says bluntly that 'she doesn't call that sort of thing painting', whereas he is less forthright: 'Well, no, it isn't painting, but it's a sort of art, of expression.'

'Loving something means having it with you'

For him, 'a painting is something which can be dreamt of for a long time and which is always looked at with the same pleasure. Perhaps the pleasure varies depending on what you are or what your mood is.' 'The criterion is whether I'd want to have it in my home. . . . Loving something means having it with you.' And he adds: 'Pleasant things are non-necessary things. I don't live to hoard things . . . I live for the sake of living. And, so far as possible, I try to live for the present moment; it isn't always easy.'

'As necessary as a cooking stove'

He could not live without his hi-fi system, bought more than ten years ago for about eight thousand francs. ('No one brand, it's a combination of several. I asked around and that was that. Same thing for the organ, I asked around and that was that.') 'It's something which is as necessary to me as a cooking stove. . . .

Everyone, even someone who earns nothing at all, needs music. It's a need, like food.' Among his records: 'Vivaldi, Bach, a lot of Bach cantatas, masses, requiems, Monteverdi.' Modern music 'doesn't mean much' to him, 'not because I deliberately reject it, but it's a question of attuning one's ears to it.'

'Mahler, Jolivet, Messiaen, I can cope with', but 'in a lot of purely serial music, electronic music, there are some things that are rather beautiful, and others which, again, sound to me like practical jokes, the same thing as in painting.'

'When there's an important work, you always know'

He rarely goes to concerts and is not one of those people who 'go and see things because they have to be seen'; he does not read the reviews in *Le Monde* (his daily paper), but would rather trust the judgement and recommendation of a friend: 'When there's something on that's an important work, you always know. You know because you're in contact with loads of people; that's why I don't bother to read the critics. If you read one, you'd have to read all of them.' He recently went to see *One Man Show*, 'some Italian Maoist alone on stage. We left at the interval because it was lousy.' When he does go to the theatre, he does

not necessarily go out for dinner as well: 'You can't do umpteen things at the same time . . . you have to enjoy things to the full.'

'I have a high opinion of myself'

He refuses any sartorial 'refinement': 'If people want to see me, it's not for the socks I'm wearing, my pocket handkerchief or the flower in my buttonhole, or my tie. If people want to see me or invite me to dinner, they invite me as I am. In other words, I have a high opinion of myself,' he explains, taking the opportunity to indicate once again his distance both from bourgeois taste and from the questions put to him by the sociologist (who belongs to his wife's family). He adds: 'I think that five hundred francs is quite enough for a suit, there's no point in spending a thousand francs on a suit when personally I don't give a damn.'

'Cooking is a state of mind'

He is a busy man and does not have much time in the middle of the day; he 'almost wishes they'd invent a pill so you didn't have to eat in the daytime. . . . Cooking is a state of mind.' To appreciate it, you have to be 'relaxed': 'Sturgeons' eggs, some Russian cooking, is quite delicious. Cooking isn't just a matter of food, there's also the setting. If you're going to eat smoked eel, it's more agreeable to eat it in the Amsterdam fish market than in some tacky restaurant . . . Real cooking, the sort where it takes two days to make a madeira sauce, where you keep things simmering away for ages, that's what I call cooking, and it's an art. But when people talk about cooking

nowadays, they just mean throwing a few things together, pulling them out of the freezer, sticking them under the grill—that's not cooking. There's no preparation, it isn't an art any more.'

'A certain liturgy'

He likes 'hunting out restaurants' with the aid of the *Guide Michelin* or Gault et Millau and remembers 'wines drunk three years ago, a bouquet, a Port, a rather special Saint-Estèphe from a particular year': 'I have very clear memories of bottles from 1923 to 1929 . . . Bordeaux . . . I still have ten bottles of wine from 1923 here. And four bottles of liqueur dated 1870.' A good bottle 'isn't to be drunk with just anyone . . . It requires a certain liturgy: a liturgy to get the temperature right, and a liturgy to drink it. It's a communion', to be celebrated 'only with certain people, who are capable of enjoying it in the same way . . . I'd rather drink it on my own than with people who don't appreciate it.' 'A dinner with champagne is rather quaint . . . A wine is varied, different; comparing champagne with wine is rather like comparing a sort of little flute with an orchestra.'

'I prefer pleasure'

Among the books in his library, 'left by a grandmother' or 'bought in a sort of shop in the rue de Provence', there are leather-bound '17th-century-ish' books, 'more for the beauty of the edition than the interest of the text . . . Bossuet's *Sermons*, Pascal's *Pensées* . . . a 17th-century book considered pornographic in its day, quite amusing.' The only books he now keeps in Paris are 'sort of philosophical or religious, and a bit of poetry'; his 'novels and so on' (about two thousand books) are in his country house. He also has books on German history, the Algerian war. . . . Setting aside 'the leather-bound stuff, the artsy-craftsy shelves', 'for me books are a tool to work with, not books for the sake of it.' He does not belong to any clubs. ('Some people love wearing uniforms, belonging to this or that team or club; I'm my own man, an individualist at all costs.') He no longer hunts 'because you have to go a long way, it's rather tiring and it's also rather expensive.' He plays tennis occasionally, on holiday, and goes skiing 'for pleasure'. 'I'm not going to struggle up a mountain with skis over my shoulder when there's a ski-tow beside me. I like coming down more than going up. I prefer pleasure.'

England), châteaux, manors, estates, 'residences of character', 'parks with lake', Champagne, Bordeaux, Burgundy, brandy, cruises, movie cameras. A lavishly illustrated announcement of auctions at the Hôtel Drouot or the Palais Galliera, beside two advertisements for antique-dealers on the quai Voltaire and in the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, offering 'furniture and objects d'art', 'antique faience and porcelain', 'paintings, statues, furniture and objets d'art'. An advertisement for the Galerie Arditti, featuring American hyper-realists, next to one for 'Curiosités', offering 'nineteenth-century French and English furniture'; the

Galerie Martin-Caille (Faubourg Saint-Honoré), presenting Max Agostini (a Post-Impressionist born in 1914), opposite Dupont cigarette-lighters.¹⁵

In a series of advertisements ranging all the way from Cognac to watches, the combination of material and symbolic appropriation confers on the possession of luxury goods a second-order rarity and a legitimacy which make it the supreme symbol of excellence. First, Cognac: 'Princes de Cognac: to talk about it, you need to use the ancient words of the language of Cognac. *Charnu*: The quality of the body of a Cognac. Princes de Cognac has *charnu*, but a *charnu* with no fat, a svelte *charnu* which is all muscle. What a Botticelli is to a Rubens. *Fleur*: The scent of the flower of the *fine champagne* vine, the aristocrat of Cognac. Princes de Cognac has *fleur*, an elegant, purified *fleur* with eloquence and breeding. *Fûts roux*: very old, very civilized casks that have sown their wild oats, shed their excess tannin. Princes de Cognac has aged in *fûts roux*. Hence its taste, dry, clean, discreetly wooded. *Paradis*: that's what we call the cellar containing the oldest reserves of Cognac. Princes de Cognac was brought up in the *paradis* of Maison Otard, at the Château de Cognac. Princes de Cognac is produced in limited quantities—only a few thousand bottles a year—and is only found in selected stores and restaurants' (*Connaissance des Arts*, November 1973, p. 16).

Burgundy is treated to the same esoteric archaism: 'Down in Burgundy, it's *épondage* time. The last echo of the vintage has scarcely died away, and already the vines are being attended to. Deftly wielding their secateurs, skilled craftsmen snip off the unwanted shoots and prepare the stocks to receive the next season's dressing; this is *épondage*, a delicate operation, which demands much dexterity and which Moillard supervises on your behalf. Selected for your pleasure from the most highly considered vineyards, Moillard Burgundies are only entrusted to qualified distributors' (*ibid.*, p. 200).

Through his mastery of a verbal accompaniment, preferably technical, archaic and esoteric, which separates informed tasting from mere passive consumption, the connoisseur shows himself worthy of symbolically appropriating the rarities he has the material means of acquiring: 'For some connoisseurs, there is only one beer in France. That's not many. But a real connoisseur is hard to please. Exclusive. And if some connoisseurs will only grant their favour to 1664, that's quite simply because 1664 gives a unique pleasure . . . And a pleasure three hundred years old . . . Sometimes it's good to rediscover the taste of the authentic' (*ibid.*, p. 187). 'Few people would dare to explain what makes a good Cognac. The Baron of the Château de Cognac has that right. In 1795 Baron Otard made the Château de Cognac his home . . . He also found, under the vaults of the château, the ideal place to mature his Cognac. And you realize the importance of that, when you know that a great Cognac has to age for many long years before becoming a V.S.O.P. Since 1795, nothing has changed at the Château de Cognac. The same vaults, the same ageing, the same care devoted to this great Cognac' (*ibid.*, p. 155).

The ostentatious, gratuitous expense implied in the purchase of a 'priceless' object is the most indisputable way of showing the price one is prepared to set on things that have no price, an absolute testimony of the irreducibility of love to money which only money can buy: 'What is true luxury? Refinement; a necessity

for those who can afford it, and a key for those who, when they see it, train their eye, their taste, and can find it in the simplest object, a scarf, a skirt, a pair of shoes, a garment, if it is beautiful. But expensive? Haute couture is absolute rigour and the absolute has no price' (Marc Bohan, artistic director of the Christian Dior company, interview).

'You have to be Perrier-Jouet and own the finest vineyard on the slopes of Cramant to afford this folly and to offer it to others: a Champagne made from the most expensive grapes in the world. But the 78 centilitres in this 18th century bottle have no price for a lover of Champagne for its own sake. Especially when it's an exceptional vintage' (*Connaissance des Arts*, November 1973, p. 14). 'To highlight your personality, we create luxurious, delicate watches . . . made only in limited editions. Each of our watches brings out the personality of the discriminating purchaser . . . You will become the owner of an exclusive, precious timepiece' (*ibid.*, p. 81).

One might be reading Marx, who writes: 'Man is initially posited as a private property owner, i.e., an exclusive owner whose exclusive ownership permits him both to preserve his personality and to distinguish himself from other men, as well as relate to them . . . private property is man's personal, distinguishing and hence essential existence.'¹⁶ The appropriation of symbolic objects with a material existence, such as paintings, raises the distinctive force of ownership to the second power and reduces purely symbolic appropriation to the inferior status of a symbolic substitute. To appropriate a work of art is to assert oneself as the exclusive possessor of the object and of the authentic taste for that object, which is thereby converted into the reified negation of all those who are unworthy of possessing it, for lack of the material or symbolic means of doing so, or simply for lack of a desire to possess it strong enough to 'sacrifice everything for it'.

The consumption of works of art, an almost too obvious illustration of this argument, is only one, among others, of these distinctive practices. Consider the new cult of nature which the fashion for second homes and the refusal of petit-bourgeois tourism have brought back into favour and which has a deep affinity with the 'vieille France' life-style of the most 'ancient' fraction among the dominant fractions. Animals, flowers, hunting, gastronomy, environment, riding, gardening, fishing, 'oenology', rambling, the regular topics of the Parisian journal *Connaissance de la Campagne* (which is to the distinguished tasting of nature as *Connaissance des Arts* is to the distinguished tasting of culture), present an exhaustive programme of the legitimate objects and modes of appropriation. Appropriating 'nature'—birds, flowers, landscapes—presupposes a culture, the privilege of those who have ancient roots. Owning a château, a manor house or grange is not only a question of money; one must also appropriate it, appropriate the cellar and learn the art of bottling, described as 'an act of deep communion with the wine' which

every 'believer' should have performed 'at least once', acquire trophies, the secrets of fishing, the skills of gardening, competences which are both ancient and slowly learned, like cooking or knowledge of wines, appropriate, in a word, the art of living of the aristocrat, or country gentleman, indifferent to the passage of time and rooted in things which last. 'There's nothing easier than pickling gherkins, my mother claims. As long as you pick them by a new moon, as long as you sweat them in cooking salt for twenty-four hours in a stoneware pot after rubbing them with a linen cloth, the only sort that is rough enough. As long as you add dried but not bone dry tarragon and bend them to pack them in tightly . . . etc.' (*Connaissance de la Campagne*, September 1973). A pot of 'home-made gherkins', 'made to grandma's recipe' and brought to the table with the appropriate verbal accompaniment—as when exhibiting the 'little picture by an eighteenth-century French master' spotted at the antique-dealer's, or the 'exquisite little piece of furniture' unearthed in a junk shop—symbolizes a squandering of time and a competence which can only be acquired by long frequentation of old, cultivated people and things, that is, membership of an ancient group, the sole guarantee of possession of all the properties which are endowed with the highest distinctive value because they can only be accumulated over time.

What is at stake is indeed 'personality', i.e., the quality of the person, which is affirmed in the capacity to appropriate an object of quality.¹⁷ The objects endowed with the greatest distinctive power are those which most clearly attest the quality of the appropriation, and therefore the quality of their owner, because their possession requires time and capacities which, requiring a long investment of time, like pictorial or musical culture, cannot be acquired in haste or by proxy, and which therefore appear as the surest indications of the quality of the person. This explains the importance which the pursuit of distinction attaches to all those activities which, like artistic consumption, demand pure, pointless expenditure, especially of the rarest and most precious thing of all—particularly for those whose market value gives them least of it to waste—namely, time, time devoted to consumption or time devoted to the cultural acquisition which adequate consumption presupposes.

One has to bear in mind, firstly, that time, despite the possibility of appropriating other people's time or of saving time by rationalization and by exploiting the freedom to avoid the effects of overcrowding by using unusual times and places, is one of the most rigorous anthropological limits, and, secondly, that the market value of time—more or less directly experienced, depending on the mode of remuneration (consultation fees, monthly salary or profits)—increases as one rises in the social hierarchy, in order to understand the value of the

potlatch of time. This term can be applied to all the practices involving the 'granting' or 'giving' of time to others—an important dimension of what is offered at receptions—and, of course, to all leisure activities whose symbolic value always lies partly in the capacity to dominate time and money that is affirmed in 'taking one's time', i.e., expending such valuable time to no purpose.

Of all the conversion techniques designed to create and accumulate symbolic capital, the purchase of works of art, objectified evidence of 'personal taste', is the one which is closest to the most irreproachable and inimitable form of accumulation, that is, the internalization of distinctive signs and symbols of power in the form of natural 'distinction', personal 'authority' or 'culture'. The exclusive appropriation of priceless works is not without analogy to the ostentatious destruction of wealth; the irreproachable exhibition of wealth which it permits is, simultaneously, a challenge thrown down to all those who cannot dissociate their 'being' from their 'having' and attain disinterestedness, the supreme affirmation of personal excellence. And as is shown, for example, by the primacy given to literary and artistic culture over scientific or technical culture, the exclusive possessors of a 'vast culture' behave no differently when they fling into the potlatch of social encounters the time they have spent without thought for immediate profit in exercises as prestigious as they are useless.

The dominant fractions do not have a monopoly of the uses of the work of art that are objectively—and sometimes subjectively—oriented towards the exclusive appropriation which attests the owner's unique 'personality'. But in the absence of the conditions of material possession, the pursuit of exclusiveness has to be content with developing a unique mode of appropriation. Liking the same things differently, liking different things, less obviously marked out for admiration—these are some of the strategies for outflanking, overtaking and displacing which, by maintaining a permanent revolution in tastes, enable the dominated, less wealthy fractions, whose appropriations must, in the main, be exclusively symbolic, to secure exclusive possessions at every moment. Intellectuals and artists have a special predilection for the most risky but also most profitable strategies of distinction, those which consist in asserting the power, which is peculiarly theirs, to constitute insignificant objects as works of art or, more subtly, to give aesthetic redefinition to objects already defined as art, but in another mode, by other classes or class fractions (e.g., kitsch). In this case, it is the manner of consuming which creates the object of consumption, and a second-degree delight which transforms the 'vulgar' artifacts abandoned to common consumption, Westerns, strip cartoons, family snapshots, graffiti, into distinguished and distinctive works of culture.

THE VARIANTS OF THE DOMINANT TASTE

The ascetic colouring of the teachers' and intellectuals' cultural practices stands out clearly when they are replaced in the system to which they belong, and when it becomes necessary to raise the question of the very meaning of culture and symbolic appropriation—the sublimated substitutes for all material appropriations and all the fruits of the earth which the division of the labour of domination leaves for the poor relations. The antagonism between the life-styles corresponding to the opposing poles of the field of the dominant class is clear-cut, total, and the opposition between the teachers and the employers (particularly between the lower and middle ranks of the two categories) is comparable to the gap between two 'cultures' in the anthropological sense. On one side, reading, and reading poetry, philosophical and political works, *Le Monde*, and the (generally leftish) literary or artistic magazines; on the other, hunting or betting, and, when there is reading, reading *France-Soir* or *l'Aurore*, *Auto-Journal* or *Lectures pour tous*.¹⁸ On one side, classic or avant-garde theatre (with, for example, Roger Planchon's productions of *Tartuffe* or *La remise*, Lorca's *Blood Wedding* or Turgenev's *A Month in the Country*), museums, classical music, *France-Musique*, the Flea Market, camping, mountaineering or walking; on the other, business trips and expense-account lunches, boulevard theatre (Robert Lamoureux, Marcel Achard, Françoise Dorin) and music-hall, variety shows on TV, commercial exhibitions, the auction room and 'boutiques', luxury cars and a boat, three-star hotels and spas (C.S. V). And the style itself of the different cultural practices, the social philosophies and world views they imply, are seen much more clearly if one bears in mind the universes of practices to which they belong; if one knows, for example, that avant-garde theatre, or reading poetry or philosophy, is opposed to bourgeois theatre or the music-hall, to the reading of historical or adventure novels or glossy magazines, as the teachers' walking, camping, mountain or country holidays are opposed both to the set of luxury activities and goods which characterize the old bourgeoisie—Mercedes or Volvo, yachts, hotel holidays in spa towns—and to the constellation of the most expensive and prestigious cultural and material possessions and practices—art books, movie cameras, tape recorders, motorboats, skiing, golf, riding or water-skiing—which distinguish the liberal professions.

The clearest indication that aesthetic choices belong to the set of ethical choices which constitutes a life-style is the opposition which emerges, in the aesthetic area itself, between two categories as close to each other with respect to cultural capital as the members of the professions and the teachers.¹⁹ Based on the opposition between ethical dispositions corresponding to different trajectories, it is reinforced and brought to fruition by very different economic conditions.

Luxury Trade Directory from le goût du luxe

ANIMALS	Germaine Monteil	Clinique vétérinaire de
Retail	Helena Rubinstein	Maisons-Alfort
Oisellerie du Pont-Neuf	BOOTS	Fondation Windsor
Oisellerie Vilmorin	Roger Vivier	Hôpital Frégis
Taxidermist	CARPETS	DOCTORS
Nérée, Boubée et Cie	Benadava	Boivin
ANTIQUES	Catan	Chartier
Aaron	CATERERS	Dolto
Bensimon	Battendier	Dubost
Hagnauer	Casimir	Hervé
Jansen	Lenotre	Lacan
Kugel	Marquise de Presles	Lagache
Lagrand	Pons	Leibovici
Laroussilhe	Potel et Chablot	Nacht
Lévy	Scott	Vellay
Litybur	CHATEAUX (HIRE)	DOMESTIC STAFF
Mallie de Fonfais	Préfecture d'Indre-et	Bons Secours
Mancel	Loire	DRY CLEANING
Perrin	CHILDREN	Billard
Taillemas	Clothes	Bobin
ARTISTS (HIRE)	Baby Dior	Pouyanne
Marouani et Tavel	Dominique	Starisky
ASTROLOGERS	Enfantillage	EMBALMING
Belline	Petit Faune	Ets Marette
Criss	Petite Gaminerie	Roblot
Delya	Minimômes	FIREWORKS
Martinez	Furniture	Ruggieri
Sabato	Bonnichon	FLORISTS
BATHROOM	Thireau	Boullet
Au Bain de Diane	Toys	Lachaume
Juif-Delepine	Le Nain Bleu	Lambert
BEAUTY PARLOURS	CLINICS	Moreux
Elizabeth Arden	Clinique du Belvédère	Veyrat
Carita	Veterinary clinics	FURS
Guerlain	Clinique du Dr.	Révillon
Harriet Hubbard Ayer	Neienat	
Lancôme		

HAIRDRESSERS	Demachy	Petrossian
Alexandre	Jansen	Maison de la Truffe
Arden		
Carita	JEWELLERY	SILVERWARE, CHINA
Jean-Louis David	Boucheron	Andrieux
	Cartier	Helft
HAUTE COUTURE	Chaumet	Kugel
Balmain	Van Cleef & Arpels	Nicolier
Cardin	Mauboussin	
Courrèges		TRAVEL
Dior	LEATHER GOODS	Car Hire
Hermès	Hermès	Murdoch
Lapidus	Morabito	Cruises
Rabanne		International Sea Service
Saint-Laurent	PROVISIONS	Rail
Ungaro	Côte de France	SNCF—DCP
	Dominique	
INTERIOR	Fauchon	S. Schroeder and J. Matignon,
DECORATORS	Godiva	<i>Le goût du luxe</i> (Paris, Balland,
Carlhian	Hédiard	1972).

Pascal then took her to the drug store for an ice cream. Sipping a Pimm's, he undertook to complete her education. He enumerated his domestic servants— butler, majordomo, chauffeur, nanny, chambermaid, valet, cook, gardener—and solemnly indicated their wages.

Domestic servants		
Butler	per month	1,500F
Majordomo	„	1,500F
Chauffeur	„	1,500F
Nanny	„	1,200F
Chambermaid	„	1,100F
Valet	„	1,000F
Cook	„	1,000F
Gardener according to region	„	800F

He regretted that there were no boxes for life at the Comédie-Française and disdained, mischievously no doubt, the price of season tickets for evening-dress performances.

Comédie-Française		
Season tickets		
Evening-dress		108F
Classical matinées		85F

He spoke of fashionable doctors, with mysterious honoraria, whether obstetricians, such as Drs. Hervé, Dubost, Velley or Chartier, or psychoanalysts, such as Drs. Lacan, Daniel Lagache, Sacha Nacht, Leibovici, Mme. Dolto.

Doctors			Clinics	
Psychoanalyst, little known			Most expensive:	Belvedere Clinic
per session	60F		Confinement	
Psychoanalyst, famous			including:	maternity ward, treatment,
per session, from	200F		meals and usual medicines.	
			Small room overlooking	
			courtyard	800F
			Small room overlooking	
			garden	800F
			Medium room overlooking	
			garden	950F
			Large room overlooking	
			garden	1,000
			Suite overlooking garden	1,250F
			Not included:	
			Service and taxes, special medicines,	
			drinks, laundry, telephone etc.	
He described a suite overlooking the garden at the Belvedere Clinic in Boulogne-sur-Seine, where it was only forbidden to plug in film projection equipment so as to avoid endangering the electrical system—but this restriction could be lifted by special permission of the management.			<i>Le goût du luxe</i> , pp. 187–189.	

Once one considers, in addition to the differences in respect to capital composition, those deriving from trajectory, and in particular the fact that the proportion of individuals who owe their place in the dominant class to the accumulation of educational capital rises as one moves from the dominant fractions to the dominated fractions, it is clear why teachers and, secondarily, engineers and executives are those most inclined to direct the ascetic dispositions developed by and for previous cultural accumulation towards further such accumulation—all the more readily since their low economic capital does not lead them to expect many alternative pleasures and profits. By contrast, the members of the professions have the means to realize the dispositions towards indulgence in luxury which are associated with a bourgeois origin and which are encouraged by the requirements of occupations presupposing a large accumulation of symbolic capital. The ascetic aristocratism of the teachers (and public-sector executives), who are systematically oriented towards the least expensive and most austere leisure activities and towards serious and even somewhat severe cultural practices—visiting museums, for example, especially in the provinces (rather than major exhibitions, galleries and foreign museums, like the members of the professions)—is opposed to the luxury tastes of the members of the professions, who amass the (culturally or economically) most expensive and most prestigious activities, reading expensive glossy magazines, visiting antique-dealers, galleries and concert-halls, holidaying in spa towns, owning pianos,

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illustrated art books, antique furniture, works of art, movie cameras, tape recorders, foreign cars, skiing, playing tennis and golf, riding, hunting and water-skiing.

As in our survey, the third factor brought out by analysis of the correspondences in the SOFRES survey separates all other fractions from the members of the professions. The latter are particularly inclined to luxury goods and activities, as is shown by simply listing (in order of importance) the characteristics which make the highest absolute contributions to this factor: subscriptions to glossy monthly magazines, possession of a movie camera, water-skiing, possession of a tape recorder, art books, playing tennis, spa holidays, bridge, hunting, skiing, riding, business cocktails etc. Since one knows that magazines like *Connaissance des Arts* or *La Maison Française* have a high proportion of professionals among their readers (15.5 percent and 18.5 percent) one may, in addition, on the basis of the 1970 CESP survey, attribute to this fraction properties particularly frequent among the readers of these journals, such as possession of antique furniture and works of art, visits to auction rooms and galleries. One also knows from the INSEE 'leisure' survey that the members of the professions give a particularly large number of receptions.

The members of the professions, possessing neither the competence nor the dispositions needed to reinvest effectively in the economy the high economic profits they derive from their cultural capital, and being attached to 'intellectual values' by education and life-style (they provide a high proportion of the amateur writers),²⁰ find in smart sports and games, in receptions, cocktails and other society gatherings not only intrinsic satisfactions and edification but also the select society in which they can make and keep up their 'connections' and accumulate the capital of honourability they need in order to carry on their professions. This is only one of the cases in which luxury, 'a conventional degree of prodigality', becomes, as Marx observed, 'a business necessity' and 'enters into capital's expenses of representation' as 'an exhibition of wealth and consequently as a source of credit.'²¹

These generic tendencies take different forms depending on the profession, the speciality and the place of residence. Thus, doctors, who have a savings rate much higher than the national average (30 percent of disposable income, as against 15 percent) but with an incomparably higher income, spend a very high percentage of their very high income, particularly on holidays (10 percent of disposable income), cars and 'consumer durables'. Very often owning their own homes (two-thirds of them do), they often own second homes, investment property, agricultural property, woods and land (hardly ever industrial companies) and also shares. Property purchases are most frequent among rural general practitioners, whereas financial investments, which generally increase with age, are more frequent among surgeons and specialists.²² One may assume that

surgeons and other specialists—especially in Paris—devote a particularly high proportion of their income to luxury expenditure, particularly the purchase of works of art.

By contrast, each of the teachers' choices (their preference for a harmonious, sober, discreet interior, for example, or for simple but well-presented meals) can be understood as a way of making a virtue of necessity by maximizing the profit they can draw from their cultural capital and their spare time (while minimizing their financial outlay). If the professionals do not always have the tastes to match their means, the teachers hardly ever have the means to match their tastes, and this disparity between cultural and economic capital condemns them to an ascetic aestheticism (a more austere variant of the 'artist' life-style) which 'makes the most' of what it has, substituting 'rustic' for antique, Romanian carpets for Persian carpets, a converted barn for an ancestral manor-house, lithographs (or reproductions) for paintings—unavowed substitutes which, like really poor people's leatherette or 'sparkling white' wine, are the tributes deprivation pays to possession.²³ The disparity between economic capital and cultural capital, or, more precisely, the educational capital which is its certified form, is undoubtedly one of the foundations of their propensity to contest a social order which does not fully recognize their merits because it recognizes other principles of classification than those of the educational system which has classified them. This meritocratic (and therefore, in a sense, aristocratic) revolt is intensified when it is combined with the loyalties, refusals and impossibilities, or refusals of the impossible, which are linked to a petit-bourgeois or working-class origin and which, together with purely economic constraints, prevent full membership in the bourgeoisie.

One of the subjectively acceptable ways of escaping from the contradictions resulting from the fact that cultural capital is a dominated principle of domination lies in participation as a cadre in the organizations claiming to express and defend the interests of the dominated classes. Thus the distribution of the members of the different dominant-class fractions who aspire (with unequal chances of success) to positions as political representatives (which can be gauged by analysing the social characteristics of parliamentary candidates) corresponds fairly strictly to the distribution of their respective fractions in the field of the dominant class. It follows from this that political struggles are one of the arenas of the struggle to impose the legitimate (i.e., dominant) principle of domination.

By contrast, for those who, like the professionals, live on the sale of cultural services to a clientele, the accumulation of economic capital merges with the accumulation of symbolic capital, that is, with the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability

A 'Truly Classical' University Teacher

Jean L., aged 36, an alumnus of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, has the *agrégation* in physics. He is now a *maître-assistant* (senior lecturer or assistant professor) in one of the Paris universities and lives in the north-western suburbs. His father (an *agrégé* in grammar) was a lycée teacher and his grandfather a primary teacher. His wife, a pharmacist's daughter, is a dentist. She teaches at the Paris Dental School and also runs her own practice.

'A Louis XIII convent table from the Flea Market'

Preferring 'sobriety' and 'discretion', Jean dislikes 'fat cushions and heavy curtains', and 'apartments done up by interior designers.' He is 'quite sensitive to the overall harmony of an interior': 'If you're lucky enough to come across a really fine piece of furniture, you put that one piece in a corner. That's all you need for a whole room.' 'At home, until recently, we had cheap furniture that we bought when we married. A quietly modern style that wasn't unattractive. Veneered teak, quite cheap, but now the chairs are giving up the ghost . . . Now we have one or two old bits of furniture that we've picked up, real antiques . . . a Louis XIII convent table that someone spotted for us in the Flea Market, a Louis XIII chest that isn't bad', found in an antique shop in Amiens. 'Of course, we won't be getting any Louis XIII chairs—for one thing they're terribly expensive, and anyway, if they're genuine, they're

not even solid. So we'll get some made for us in the same style but without pretending to be antique.' The decorating and furnishing of the house are mainly left to his wife, who attaches a great deal of importance to them. 'She's quite expert at that, I'm not, especially as regards prices . . . I enjoy it, but when all's said and done, if I were on my own I don't think I'd devote much time to it. I haven't got much of a taste for it, but my wife certainly has and in the end I do appreciate it, all the same.' His wife is very fond of old *faïence*: 'I'm always willing to accompany her if she says, "Come along, let's go and look at some porcelain." I know I'll enjoy it, I know she's much more sensitive to it than I am. . . . There's one thing I'd really like to buy, I haven't done so yet, but I sometimes look: it's old scientific instruments, because they used to make some remarkable things in the last century and three or four centuries back.'

'I'd rather read something more concentrated'

At home, he does a bit of amateur carpentry, 'out of duty'. 'My wife's the one who says this or that needs doing, and I do it, taking quite unnecessary trouble over it. I could do it quicker if I did it less carefully, but I enjoy designing things, working them out and then making them.'

He does not have a TV set at home but manages to watch from time to time. 'The interest of the things they're dealing with often gets diluted. On any given

subject, I'd rather read something more concentrated. Still, there are some things for which it's irreplaceable. I have to admit, I went to my mother's to see the first moon landing, things like that. . . . I remember seeing Ivan Illich for five minutes; it was unforgettable, I'm glad I saw what he looks like instead of just reading him.'

'All my reading used to be based on *Le Monde*'

He subscribes to *Tribune Socialiste*—'it's not bad'—and occasionally reads *Le Nouvel Observateur*. His wife takes *L'Express*: 'It gives a superficial view of events, though some of the interviews are good. All my reading used to be based on *Le Monde*. I used to receive it regularly. But now I don't read it every day.' His reading is somewhat austere, no detective stories or novels: 'Solzhenitsyn's *First Circle*, all the same, because my wife said I ought to read it.' He has also recently read *Deschooling Society* by Illich ('It made a great impression on me'), *Chance and Necessity* (Monod), and Konrad Lorenz's *On Aggression*. He owns a UNESCO history of world cultures in seven or eight volumes: 'It's marvellous, it isn't a narrative, certainly not a narrative; if there are characters and so on, that doesn't interest me. Archaeology, now, that interests me a lot. . . . Something I browse in a good deal is the *Dictionary of Archaeology*.'

'Truly classical, restrained things'

'A Vermeer is something I can gaze at for two hours and I feel really satisfied, whereas that [a book of drawings by "a guy called Escher"] not at all.' He much

appreciates a history of art in the series edited by Francastel. 'The text is outstanding. There aren't many reproductions, and they're not brilliant, though they're relatively original, but they're good because they analyse the painters' ideas, not just anecdotically but the way they connect with the economic and social structures of the period.' He 'doesn't "do" museums exhaustively,' but is 'always willing to go': 'I'm quite prepared to go along if a friend says "Look, there's something I want to go and see", or if I've seen or read something. . . . I'm always willing to go, and I spend a certain amount of time there.' He has been to Tuscany several times: 'I love everything there is to be seen there. . . . I enjoy situating the painters of the period in relation to one another; I say to myself, Angelico was still painting like this while someone else was doing that.' He particularly likes 'the Quattrocento, Botticelli, Piero della Francesca and also Vermeer and Watteau.' 'I don't quite know how to put it, whether it's the subject, or the technique. . . . I like the surfaces, and that sort of grace, charm, melancholy.' He realizes that painters cannot dispense with stylistic devices, but he dislikes those of Rousseau: 'There's something unnatural, over-deliberate, over-sophisticated about his technique.' 'Matisse, now, truly classical, restrained things, those I do like. I like a lot of Picasso's work, and Villon, the little I know of it. To be honest, I'm not well up on modern painting. . . . There's one thing which to me is not painting, and that's the whole of Surrealism. In my view it's a purely intellectual exercise.'

Dali and company are something I detest.'

'I prefer *The Art of Fugue* on the organ'

He has no hi-fi ('I'd quite like to have one, but for me it's not essential'), but he does have 'a record-player that isn't bad' ('mono, I bought it for 600 francs four or five years ago'). 'In my view, music is something you ought to go and see done by the people who make it. That's the best way. Otherwise, at home, you just need something reasonable to play the records on and some good performances. . . . I'm not enormously sensitive to the performance, but still, I do appreciate it.' His 'sense of the economy of means', his taste of 'sobriety' and 'also his scientific training' incline him to appreciate 'pure music'. '*The Art of Fugue*, for example, I prefer that on the organ rather than an orchestral version, it really is pure music, it's not a question of timbre.' He dislikes 'Romantic music, it's too emphatic, too grandiloquent. For example, I like Berlioz, but the *Fantastic Symphony* is too rhetorical.' Although he has 'all sorts of minor activities', he is 'busy four evenings a week with meetings, choir rehearsals' (with a choral society he joined ten years ago): 'and nowadays, with a group of opera-lovers, you do a bit of opera, a bit of *lieder*, it takes up a lot of time in the end.' 'For me, the summit of music is Mozart . . . *Così fan tutte* . . . I adore all of Poulenc, I like Delalande . . . I really enjoyed *Wozzeck* when Boulez conducted it at the Paris Opera. It was the first time I'd heard it.' He goes to concerts four or five times a year. 'Earlier this week I went to hear Fischer-Dieskau;

for me he's the god of singing.' He scarcely ever listens to light music or non-classical singers, and has never bought any of their records ('I like Brassens, but I don't listen to him').

'Effective use of limited means'

He is 'not really a connoisseur of films'; he often 'just goes to the local cinema in D. to see the current releases if they're not too bad.' He likes Truffaut but 'is impervious to the American arts' ('I find a lot of American films a bit puerile, except Woody Allen'). He doesn't watch many historical films, but, 'Obviously Abel Gance's *Napoleon*, that was something not to be missed, or *The Battleship Potemkin*, or *Alexander Nevsky*.' 'I'm very allergic to anything that strikes me as overdone. I like someone to show me something he feels very strongly, making effective use of limited means.'

He is neither a 'gastronome' nor a 'connoisseur', but he is 'fairly sensitive' to the food he is offered. 'When friends invite me for a meal, it's a pleasure I take notice of, I appreciate it.' He 'tries to keep a few presentable wines in the house' ('I've found a little dealer specializing in Beaujolais. I like some of the things he has to offer, and that's how I stock my cellar').

'I rush out walking'

He 'would like to be able to play chess' and sometimes plays scrabble. He does a bit of photography: 'I end up using two rolls of thirty-six pictures a year, mainly on holiday. One thing I typically do when I'm on holiday in the mountains is to take pictures of landscapes . . . then I

spend hours poring over a map working out what can be seen.' On holiday 'I rush out walking and then, like an idiot, I do forty kilometres at top speed on the first day and then my feet are swollen for a fortnight. When I go walking, I do it fairly intensively, but unfortunately there

are long periods when I don't do any. . . . For the last year I've had a dog, and she has to be taken for walks. I do that at a furious pace. . . . I take her out on Saturdays and we run half the time. We cover ten kilometres at full speed.'

that are easily converted into political positions as a local or national notable. It is therefore understandable that they should identify with the established (moral) order to which they make daily contributions, of which their political positions and actions, or the declarations of the national medical association, are only the most visible form.

According to a SOFRES survey of a national sample of two hundred doctors made before the first round of the 1974 presidential election, 59 percent said they would vote for Giscard, 16 percent for Mitterrand, 9 percent for Chaban-Delmas (the Gaullist candidate) and 11 percent for another candidate, and 5 percent were undecided. Asked who they thought was most likely to win, 71 percent said Giscard, 16 percent Mitterrand, 9 percent Chaban-Delmas and 1 percent another candidate, and 13 percent would not predict.²⁴ One can get an idea of what the doctors were voting for in Giscard by reading the interview with him in the same issue of *Le Quotidien du Médecin* that reports the survey, in which he declares himself in favour of highly selective recruitment, the maintenance of the 'liberal profession', the family practitioner and the coexistence of public and private hospital treatment, promises to eliminate 'wastage' in the Social Security system and sees no need for any reform of the *Ordre des médecins*.

So the contrast that is usually drawn between 'intellectual' or left-bank taste and 'bourgeois' or right-bank taste is not only an opposition between the preference for contemporary works (here, within the limits of the lists offered, Picasso, Kandinsky, Boulez) and the taste for older, more consecrated works (the Impressionists and especially Renoir, Watteau, the *Hungarian Rhapsody*, the *Four Seasons*, *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*), between the taste for solid values, in painting and music, as in cinema and theatre, and the commitment to novelty. It is also an opposition between two world views, two philosophies of life, symbolized, for example, by Renoir and Goya (or Maurois and Kafka), the centres of two constellations of choices, *la vie en rose* and *la vie en noir*, rose-coloured spectacles and dark thoughts, boulevard theatre and avant-garde theatre, the social optimism of people without problems and the anti-bourgeois pessimism of people with problems—the opposition between material and mental comfort, with intimate, discreet interiors and

traditional French cooking, and aesthetic and intellectual invention, with the taste for exotic dishes or (by inversion) pot-luck, 'studied' interiors, or (by inversion) those that are easy to maintain, furniture from the Flea Market and avant-garde shows.²⁵

The oppositions between systems of purely aesthetic preferences that are symbolized by the antithesis Kandinsky/Renoir can be replaced in the sets of choices constituting life-styles simply by considering the characteristics of an audience such as that of *Connaissance des Arts*. This relatively expensive, luxury cultural journal, which is at the same time an advertising medium for the luxury goods trade, especially in objets d'art, no doubt gives a fairly accurate picture of the groups who are united by 'bourgeois taste' and who are brought together by the most select and also most expensive cultural events—smart exhibitions, gala performances at the Paris Opera, premieres, major concerts etc. The common features of the private-sector executives and professionals—and the many fewer, and therefore strongly over-selected, teachers and industrial employers—who make up this readership are a liking for expensive, prestigious activities (golf, riding) and for cultural practices oriented at least as much towards material appropriation as towards merely symbolic appropriation, frequenting theatres and galleries (predominantly right-bank), auction rooms, antique shops and luxury boutiques. The 'bourgeois taste' which characterizes them is opposed not only to 'intellectual' taste but also (essentially by possession of works of art, gallery- and theatre-going) to the 'middling' taste of the great majority of the industrial and especially the commercial employers, great readers of *Auto-Journal*, who appropriate only those rare goods to which money gives direct access, such as luxury cars (C.S. VI).

To measure the distance between the 'bourgeois' public and the 'intellectual' public, one only has to observe that the proportion of students, teachers and artists is 53 percent at the Saintes ancient music festival, 60 percent at the La Rochelle contemporary arts festival, 66 percent at the Nancy international (avant-garde) theatre festival, 83 percent at the Royan contemporary music festival; and that rate of attendance varies in the same way, rising from an average of 3.5 shows per person at Saintes to 5 at La Rochelle and 7 at Nancy and Royan (C.S. XXIX, XXX).

Whereas the 'intellectual' fractions expect rather from the artist a symbolic challenging of social reality and of the orthodox representation of it in 'bourgeois' art, the 'bourgeois' fractions expect their artists, their writers, their critics, like their couturiers, jewellers or interior designers, to provide emblems of distinction which are at the same time means of denying social reality. Luxury goods and works of art are only the most visible aspect of this décor enveloping bourgeois existence, or at least, the private, domestic part of a fundamentally dual life, spuriously unified in and through a spurious division against itself, disinterestedness against interest, art against money,

the spiritual against the temporal. Polite political newspapers, discreetly politicized or ostentatiously depoliticized, decorative journals and coffee-table art books, Blue Guides and travel stories, regional novels and biographies of great men are so many screens to hide social reality. 'Bourgeois' theatre, a scarcely 'de-realized' representation of one of the forms of bourgeois existence, with its beautiful stage sets, pretty women, facile adventures, frivolous conversation and reassuring philosophy (any other combination of the nouns and adjectives is equally valid), is no doubt the form par excellence of the art the 'bourgeois' recognizes because he recognizes himself in it. The bourgeoisie expects from art (not to mention what it calls literature or philosophy) a reinforcement of its self-assurance, and, as much out of sufficiency as insufficiency, it can never really recognize the audacities of the avant-garde, even in the most highly neutralized arts, such as music. And for every enlightened amateur who has understood that it costs nothing to be, like Proust's Mme. de Cambremer, 'in art, always on the left', there are many present-day admirers of Flaubert or Mahler who have the same impatience with disorder, even symbolic, and the same horror of 'movement', even artistically sublimated, as their counterparts in the past.

In fact, a class or class fraction is defined not so much by its overall judgement of intellectuals or artists in general (although anti-intellectualism is a determinant characteristic of some fractions of the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie) as by the artists and intellectuals it chooses from the range offered by the field of production. Thus the anti-intellectualism of the dominant fraction of the dominant class may be expressed in the choice of intellectuals who are inclined to anti-intellectualism by their own position in the intellectual field. The further one moves from the 'purest' genres, i.e., those most completely purified of all reference to the social world and politics (first music, then poetry, philosophy and painting), the wider the gap between the producers recognized by the dominant fractions—play-wrights and theatre critics or philosophers and political essayists—and those recognized by the producers themselves. Furthermore, as one is reminded by the reaction it arouses among the declining petit bourgeois, the artist's life-style, in particular everything in it which challenges the ordinary relationships between age (or social status) and symbolic attributes, such as clothing, or behaviour, such as sexual or political conduct, contains a denunciation of the practical postulates which are the basis of the bourgeois life-style. Like the old women in Australian myths, who overthrow the structure of relations between the generations by magically conserving a smooth, youthful skin, artists and intellectuals (like Sartre refusing a Nobel prize or frequenting young revolutionaries at an age when others pursue honours and cultivate the powerful) can sometimes call into question one of the most deeply buried foundations of the social order, Spinoza's *obsequium*, the disposition of those who have 'self-respect' and feel entitled to command respect.

One has to take into account the whole logic of the field of artistic production and its relationship to the field of the dominant class to understand why avant-garde artistic production is bound to disappoint bourgeois expectations—unequally, and always in the short term.²⁶ It is no accident that the taste for the artistic avant-garde appears in the analysis only at the end of a series of oppositions. In fact, everything takes place as if, although it embodies artistic legitimacy, the artistic producers' taste for the avant-garde defined itself in a quasi-negative way, as the sum of the refusals of all socially recognized tastes: refusal of the middle-of-the-road taste of the big shopkeepers and parvenu industrialists, the 'grocers' pilloried by Flaubert and others as one incarnation of the 'bourgeois', and especially, perhaps, at present, the petite bourgeoisie, led by their cultural pretension to the products of middle-brow culture or the most accessible products of legitimate culture (such as light opera or the easiest boulevard theatre), which are immediately devalued by their new audience; refusal of bourgeois taste, i.e., the typically right-bank luxury taste, which has some accomplices among the artists; and, finally, refusal of the teachers' 'pedantic taste',²⁷ which though opposed to bourgeois taste is, in the eyes of the artists, merely a variant of it, disdained for its heavy, pettifogging, passive, sterile didacticism, its 'spirit of seriousness', and most of all for its prudence and backwardness. And so the logic of double negation can lead the artists back, as if in defiance, to some of the preferences characteristic of popular taste. For example, they concur with the working classes and the lower fractions of the middle classes, from which they differ in every other way, in choosing an interior that is 'practical and functional', 'easy to maintain', the antithesis of 'bourgeois comfort'; just as they may rehabilitate, but at the second degree, the most derided forms of popular taste (kitsch, pop art). The 'artist' life-style which is defined by this distance from all other life-styles and their temporal attachments presupposes a particular type of asset structure in which time functions as an independent factor, partly interchangeable with economic capital. But spare time and the disposition to defend it, by renouncing what it could be used to earn, presuppose both the (inherited) capital needed to make renunciation materially possible and the—highly aristocratic—disposition to renounce.

Artists, by an almost complete inversion of the ordinary world view, frequently consider money (often earned through activities external to their craft) as a means of buying time to work and to lead the 'artist's life' which is an integral part of their specific activity.²⁸ Thus artists (and intellectuals) exchange money, which they could otherwise earn, for time, the time which has to be spent without counting to produce objects which often (in the short term) have no markets, and to 'discover' objects and places whose rarity and value they help to produce, antiques, back-street restaurants, new shows etc.; and they quasi-exclusively appropriate collective goods or services (museums, galleries, cultural broad-

casts). Variations in spare time and in the relation to time are, together with unequal propensity to consume, among the factors which make patterns of expenditure very unequal guides to the resources of each class.

THE MARK OF TIME

In no other class is the opposition between the young and old, the challengers and the possessors—and also the opposition between the senior members of the class and the newcomers, which cannot always be superimposed upon it (since, in some sectors at least, the most senior are also the most precocious)—more determinant than in the dominant class, which can ensure its own perpetuation only if it is capable of overcoming the crises that are liable to arise from the competition between the fractions to impose the dominant principle of domination and from the succession struggles within each fraction. The differences between the generations (and the potential for generation conflicts) increase with the magnitude of the changes that have occurred in the definitions of occupational positions or in the institutionalized means of access to them, i.e., the modes of generation of the individuals appointed to them.²⁹ Consequently, the differences due to the diversity of routes into a given job at a given moment (particularly visible in populations which are highly dispersed in this respect, like the executives and engineers) are coupled with the differences resulting from the variations over time in the job description and in the conditions of access to the job, in particular the variations in the relative importance of the different routes which are linked to changes in the educational system and its relation to industry.

The opposition between the oldest, who valorize the most ascetic ethical dispositions, and the youngest, who identify with the values most typical of the modern executive, is particularly marked among the executives and engineers (and secondarily among the teachers and professionals). For example, in the dominant class as a whole, 51.5 percent of the over-45s choose a 'conscientious' friend, as against 24.5 percent of the under-45s, 39 percent of whom choose 'dynamic' as against 19.5 percent of the over-45s; among the executives and engineers, 42.5 percent of the under-45s and 8 percent of the over-45s choose 'dynamic', while 15 percent of the under-45s and 54 percent of the over-45s choose 'conscientious'. (Similar variations, always more marked among executives and engineers, are observed for 'determined', which varies like 'dynamic', or 'well-bred', which varies like 'conscientious'.) A similar evolution (no doubt linked to a general increase in cultural capital) is found in tastes in legitimate culture: thus, the younger executives and engineers more often choose *Rhapsody in Blue* (32 percent as against 17.5 percent) or the *Four Seasons* (47 percent and 24 percent), less often *L'Arlésienne* (14.5 percent and 28 percent), *Hungarian Rhapsody* (32 percent and 58.5 percent), *Blue Danube* (13 percent and 30.5 percent).

These historical variations are particularly significant in the case of the fractions most directly linked to the economy, the engineers and executives, but they have, in a more insidious way, affected the whole of the dominant class. They are likely to pass unnoticed because they always manifest themselves in combination with age, so that they can easily be taken for an effect of biological or even social age rather than generation, and because they are translated into trajectories, i.e., individual histories which are so many responses to a given state of the chances objectively offered to a whole generation by collective history.

The 'liberal professions' (doctors, at least) have succeeded in maintaining the traditional definition of their job and the competence it requires by defending, among other things, the most Malthusian conditions of access, thus in a sense escaping from history and the divisions between the generations. By contrast, categories such as those of the executives and engineers bring together individuals separated both in trajectory and in generation, in the sense of the set of products of a single mode of generation associated with a similar pattern of objective chances. In fact, because of the duality of the modes of access, by qualification and by promotion, and the corresponding divisions which prevented an organized defence of the modes of access and of the corresponding privileges, these categories have been much more directly affected by educational expansion, which, by increasing the number of formally qualified candidates entitled to jobs, has transformed the *de facto* relationship between titles and jobs and the form of the competition for jobs between formally qualified and non-qualified candidates.³⁰

Furthermore, changes in the economy have been reflected in new numerical and hierarchical relationships between the different managerial and executive functions, thereby transforming the system of opportunities open to the products of the different types of training—autodidact candidates for promotion, engineers from the minor engineering schools, engineers from the scientific *grandes écoles* (Polytechnique, l'Ecole des Mines etc.), graduates of the various *Instituts des sciences politiques* or HEC etc. (It must, of course, always be remembered that the different responses of the various groups to the new situations arising from economic changes can be traced back to the differences in social and educational origin which have always determined important differences between individuals occupying formally identical positions at a given moment.) For example, the strengthening of finance and marketing departments relative to technical departments, resulting from the increased power of banks over industry and the growing internationalization of industrial groups, their capital, their management and their patents, has caused a revaluation of the qualifications and institutions leading to these positions, Sciences Po, ENA or HEC on the one hand, Polytechnique and the other engineering schools on the other hand, and, simultaneously,

redistributed the chances available to the fractions of the bourgeoisie who use these institutions. Thus, as a result of changes in the economic structures, and chiefly through its use of the Paris *Instituts des sciences politiques*, situated at the bottom of the specifically academic hierarchy of the 'schools of power', the Parisian *grande bourgeoisie* has reappropriated, perhaps more completely than ever, the commanding positions in the economy and the civil service (provoking collective and individual ripostes by Polytechnique graduates, more and more of whom are taking a detour through Harvard, Columbia or M.I.T.).

In addition, the emergence of a large number of new positions, which promise profits at least equivalent to those of the established positions and strictly predictable career targets, but without offering the same guarantees of security, is tending to subvert the system of differential chances of profit. At least in the phase when both their risks and their profits are greatest, these new positions situated at critical points in the social structure are most attractive to those whose social origin has provided them with an inclination towards risky investments, the social connections needed in order to make them and the information needed in order to succeed in them.

Thus, within a category such as that of the engineers, it is possible to distinguish families of taste corresponding to sub-sets of individuals separated both with respect to cultural and educational capital and to seniority within the bourgeoisie. At one extreme is found the *petit-bourgeois* taste of the older engineers, originating from the middle or working classes and promoted from the ranks or trained in second-rank schools; at the other extreme, the bourgeois taste of the young engineers who have recently graduated from the *grandes écoles* and are at least second-generation members of the bourgeoisie.

The same divisions reappear a fortiori in the catch-all category of the *cadres* (executives), a sort of junction where one encounters former engineers, endowed with a traditional cultural capital (usually scientific), who exercise a (delegated) managerial authority; administrative executives who have achieved promotion (in the public sector, by internal examination) by dint of a great effort to catch up scholastically (evening classes etc.) that is rarely sanctioned by diplomas (except purely 'internal' titles); young graduates of the *grandes écoles* (Polytechnique and ENA), trained for the public sector but destined, in many cases, to move to high positions in the private sector; and, finally, executives of a new type, generally in marketing or management, deriving their educational capital (when they have any) from the business schools or political science institutes, and inclined to a life-style which differs from that of the 'old bourgeoisie' from which many of them originate.

Everything seems to indicate that the different modes of access (from the ranks or by qualification) lead to very different careers. The possessors of qualifications move much further and faster, especially in the second half of their careers (all observers agree that autodidacts have their best chance in the period

A Young Executive Who 'Knows How to Live'

Michel R., an advertising executive working in a Paris agency, the son of the managing director of the French subsidiary of a leading multinational corporation, studied in a private Catholic secondary school in the 17th arrondissement and then at the Paris Political Science Institute; his wife, Isabelle, the daughter of a provincial industrialist, also went to Sciences Po and works for a weekly news-magazine. He is 30, she is 28; they have two children. They live in Paris, in a modern five-roomed apartment in the 15th arrondissement. They like things to be 'snug and cosy'. They have no interest in 'home-improvement' and have kept their apartment as they found it. 'The decoration is all the work of our predecessor. I didn't much like the green in the dining-room, it was rather gloomy, but we got used to it, and I get bored working on the place I live in.' 'I hate that beading on the doors, I'd like to get rid of it. The pseudo 16th- or 18th-century veneering or whatever it is all over this modern apartment is ghastly; I put up with it but it gets on my nerves,' says Michel, who has removed some of it but 'couldn't face the rest.'

'The world of my grandparents'

Their flat 'is partly the world of my grandparents, my great-grandparents, who were *grands bourgeois*': pictures by Michel's grandfather, 'who spent his

whole life painting and never did a day's work'; other pictures which they have been given—a Boudin, a Bissière, and a Folon. But Michel, who 'adores the Impressionists in general and especially Bonnard, and Monet or Manet, the one who does a lot of landscapes, and Pissarro', does not like them.

Nor does he like still lifes, or 'problem pictures': 'Fernand Léger, and stuff like that, is horrible, it's thick and heavy . . . two or three Braques can be interesting to look at, but when you see two hundred of them, all done the same way, it gets a bit repetitive, a bit night-marish. . . . I tend to go for landscapes . . . My grandmother's got a Bonnard in her apartment, the one really valuable picture she owns. We won't inherit it because there are lots of relatives. But it would be wonderful to own it. I go for things that are outside fashion, sort of timeless.'

Isabelle doesn't entirely agree with her husband: 'There are some things I like a lot in modern art, but that's because I like the colours . . . For example, Vieira da Silva (she hesitates over the name), Boudin, who is behind you, I like a lot.' They both occasionally visit galleries, and exhibitions two or three times a year. They went to the Braque exhibition and expect to see the Impressionists at Durand-Ruel.

'We'd seen a lot of mediocre stuff'

The dining-room tables and chairs, mahogany, 18th-century English style, were bought in London as soon as they were married. 'I don't know if we'd do

the same thing today . . . I can't remember why we bought them, but from a bourgeois point of view they must be a good investment.' After visiting many antique shops, they 'finally chose something very expensive. It would have cost twice as much in Paris. We'd seen a lot of mediocre stuff and decided we didn't like it. Importing the furniture 'was no problem. It's exempt from customs duties. You just have to pay VAT [value-added tax].' In the living-room they have some modern and some old furniture, a bookcase from Roche-Bobois, a sofa from a shop in Le village suisse. . . .

Michel's car is 'only an old Peugeot 404', whereas his bosses 'have got Jaguars, the director of the agency has an Alfa-Romeo, a Lancia'. 'From time to time, they say, "So you aren't trading it in?" They'd be relieved if I got a new car. They're afraid I'll visit clients in my car.'

'The right sort of clothes for people in advertising'

Though at weekends, at home, he wears 'a filthy pair of trousers', for work he dresses with great care and elegance. He buys his suits at Barnes, the advertising man's tailor, in the rue Victor Hugo in Paris. 'They're the right sort of clothes for people who make it in advertising—English cloth, Prince of Wales checks with a touch of luxury. Not the sort of thing civil servants could wear, and bank managers couldn't get away with it either. In banking you need a plain shirt; banking isn't showy, whereas in advertising, people put every penny they earn into clothes . . . In my business

we're constantly classifying people, there are social classes, castes, and it's a matter of fitting a product to the right caste.

When someone new comes to the agency, we size them up at a glance. . . . A guy with a velvet suit and big lapels is compensating for something, he's not very sure of himself, he wants to make an impression.' For a while, the agency had 'a finance manager from a very modest background; when he arrived he was so badly dressed that it was bad for business . . . he was dressed like a junior clerk.'

'Wearing a suit with narrow lapels, narrow bottoms, a bit short, in a loud colour with a shirt that doesn't match and a narrow tie, for example, by our standards, that's grotty.'

'Not the way some secretaries do it'

'On the other hand, being too fashionable is not much better,' adds Isabelle, who dresses their children 'in fairly classic style', paying particular attention to the colours. 'I like a pretty smocked dress from time to time, and English overcoats. Of course it's done with an eye to fashion, but not in the silly way some secretaries at *L'Express* do it, dressing their children in the new kiddy-boutiques, Mini-this and Mini-that, with things that cost a fortune and are a miniature copy of the parents' clothes.' These secretaries 'are all well dressed, by my standards, they have perfect colour sense. . . . There were some girls who arrived, who dressed with terrible taste, it was vulgar, cheap, tacky, just awful . . . and then, after four years, they finally got it right.' Isabelle has a friend who is 'always exquisitely dressed . . . the effect

is always stunning, I mean, it's chic, it's got real class . . . She pays attention to every little detail.' Michel's father is also 'very well-dressed, nothing is ever over-done, his colours are always perfect. Refinement without the slightest ostentation. He has a tailor in London.' Michel's mother is 'equally restrained. Always a beautifully cut fur coat.' She, too, often buys her clothes in London.

'Provincial clerks who fill their gardens with gnomes'

'The *petits bourgeois* have no taste, it's a phrase we often use, though we're well aware it's racist.' (Michel and Isabelle constantly indicate in this way their 'distance' from the ways of the older generation of the *grande bourgeoisie*—perhaps especially when speaking to a sociologist, albeit a friend's sister.) Isabelle's parents, provincial industrialists, are more severe or less tolerant: 'About the *petit-bourgeois* phenomenon—provincial clerks who fill their gardens with gnomes, windmills and similar rubbish, Mummy used to say, "It's outrageous; making things like that ought to be banned." It was terribly authoritarian, really fascist, whereas we spoke up for everyone's right to have their own tastes.'

'A very light meal, a vegetable dish and some cheese'

In cooking, as in clothing and furnishing, they manifest the same refusal of pretension, of 'excess', the same sense of 'distinction'. Without being 'a wine-buff who can tell one year

from another', Michel is 'something of an expert'. His father-in-law, who has a huge cellar, has slowly initiated them. When they visit him, they drink 'Margaux 1926, amazing things that they don't stock in restaurants any more . . . With colleagues, for example, I'm the one who chooses the wine. They can see I know what I'm doing. I don't go for some miserable Cahors, for example. I know it doesn't taste the same as a Saint-Estèphe or a Saint-Emilion. . . . Hardly anyone knows how to choose wine, so as soon as you know a little bit about it, you look like someone who knows how to live.' At home, they have a few magnums of Veuve Clicquot 1926 which they bought: 'good-quality things; we drink some two or three times a month and then there are the Christmas presents . . . If it's whisky, we drink Chivas, we're rather demanding.' They buy their claret direct from the producer 'at fifteen or eighteen francs a bottle, forty francs in the shops, a very good wine.' In the evening, when they are alone, they eat 'a very light meal, a vegetable dish and some cheese.' They like to invite friends for '*escalopes à la crème, sauté de veau*, curry, salmon that we buy occasionally.' Michel is particularly partial to '*foie de canard frais aux raisins* cooked in the coals, and *confit d'oie*.' He has eaten in 30 of the 100 best restaurants in Paris listed in the *Gault et Millau* guide, often business lunches ('I only paid for ten of them'). He also likes traditional French food ('plain home cooking, in other words') but is not keen on little local restaurants or 'foreign dishes, Italian or Chinese cooking'.

'Healthy exercise'

Michel and Isabelle are members of a golf club: 'it's marvellous, but the people aren't. They're mostly gaga. In France it's always a certain type of people, whereas in Japan 30 percent of the population belong to a golf club.' Their initial subscription cost them 10,000 francs; they no longer go, because of the children, but they have kept up their membership. Michel no longer plays tennis: 'It's very stressful . . . you have to keep moving all the time, running up to the net. It gives me backache . . . Golf is less hard on the muscles.' 'Victims of fashion, everyone's talking about it this year,' they are going to go cross-country skiing. They have also bought second-hand racing bicycles and last summer they went for long rides: 'It's healthy exercise.'

When he was a student, Michel used to go to the TNP (Théâtre National Populaire) in Aubervilliers, to see Gombrowicz or Brecht, but he no longer goes; they have recently been to the Cartoucherie de Vincennes and the Paris Opera: they go to the cinema fairly often. They have a hi-fi system and a tape-recorder; they listen to the classical record reviews on France-Musique. Michel particularly likes Mozart (*The Marriage of Figaro*), Schubert Quartets, Bach, and the Beethoven Quartets. 'I haven't learnt to appreciate purely modern stuff, Webern and so on.' Michel does not read many novels but intends to read Tony Duvert (he likes books that are 'a bit stimulating'; he read Robbe-Grillet's *Les Gommies* but 'couldn't get into it'). He mainly reads 'anything in social studies'—psychology, economics.

from entry to mid-career, i.e., to about age 35–40). But occupational life-cycles also depend on firms: the possessors of qualifications have affinities with the largest firms, the only ones which can provide career-structures of the bureaucratic type. And it is among the executives of large companies in the private sector that all the features of the new bourgeois life-style are most strongly developed.

Although executives and engineers have the monopoly of the means of symbolic appropriation of the cultural capital objectified in the form of instruments, machines and so forth which are essential to the exercise of the power of economic capital over this equipment, and derive from their monopoly a real managerial power and relative privileges within the firm, the profits accruing from their cultural capital are at least partially appropriated by those who have power over this capital, i.e., those who possess the economic capital needed to ensure the concentration and utilization of cultural capital. It follows from this that their position in the dominant class is an ambiguous one which leads them to a highly ambivalent adherence both to the firm and to the 'social order'. When making demands or rising in protest, they are actuated as much by their concern to maintain the legitimate

Model Executives

A rapid analysis of the 'executive opportunities' advertised in *Le Monde* in the course of a single week (in July 1973) is sufficient to identify the set of characteristic features of the new breed of marketing-oriented managers required by the new forms of business organization:

Whether 'product manager', 'sales engineer' [these two terms are in English in the original text], 'deputy sales director', 'assistant financial manager' or 'general sales manager', he must above all be a 'negotiator' and a 'communicator', and be

skilled in 'top-level contacts': able to act with 'diplomacy'; adaptable to 'contacts at all levels'; 'accustomed to contacts with senior civil servants, excellent negotiator'; 'capacity for high-level contacts'; 'top-level contacts and negotiation'; 'negotiation with banks'; 'take charge of relations with Government departments, represent the firm on national negotiating bodies'; 'taste for contacts and motivation'; 'taste for problem-solving and human relations, highly articulate';

and in internal negotiations, which means, for a head of sales management: 'an on-going co-ordination function between sales division and general management'; for a chief buyer, 'this position entails full control of liaison between a marketing [English in original] department and a production unit'; for a sales engineer, 'the negotiations he will

have to conduct will require an understanding attitude and the creativity which his competence justifies'; 'co-ordinator between clients, sales personnel, senior management, aftersales service and manufacturing';

a graduate of one of the new business schools, HEC, INSEAD, Ecole Supérieure de Commerce (ESC) or Institut Supérieur des Affaires (ISA), generally listed together—perhaps rounded off by a 'period of study in an American university';

endowed with the aptitudes and attitudes implied in working for multinational or strongly export-oriented firms ('English absolutely indispensable'; English vocabulary: 'marketing', 'merchandising' [last two terms in English] etc., and Anglicisms: 'opportunité' etc.);

having a 'taste for team-work' and a capacity for 'animating' others (the substitute for authority): 'dynamic and adaptable . . . he must be prepared to join a team'; 'to direct and motivate a staff of twenty';

creative and dynamic (like the firm itself, which is 'rapidly expanding into the export field'): 'lead, animate, form a team'; 'dynamism, drive, capacity for synthesis and team-work';

young ('young executive');

mobile: he must expect to travel frequently, particularly to the USA.

A similar profile emerges from a typical report in *L'Expansion*—no. 64 (June 1973), p. 139—entitled 'The New Rare Birds', on 'new executive positions' that 'are well paid, for lack of

applicants': 'A director of forward planning will always start at 70,000–80,000 francs a year; a management controller at between 60,000 and 90,000. There's a strong demand for internal auditors, recruited if possible from Peat Marwick, Arthur Andersen or Price Waterhouse. A "junior" will pick up 70,000 to 80,000, a "senior" 110,000 to 120,000. The financial analyst still gets at least 60,000. The director of staff development has come up strongly: 45,000 to 70,000 last year, 50,000 to 80,000 this year. In the major banks there are even some at 110,000–130,000. Hypermarket [shopping center] managers have been moving up in the same way. This year, five challengers have broken away: the servicing manager, the hotel director, the merchandising [in English] manager (within the marketing [English] plan, he endeavours to improve his product's position in the new distribution circuits; the basic merchandiser [English] goes round the hypermarket shelves trying to get the maximum display "footage" for his company's products), the business methods analyst (he analyses the company's system and standards; like auditors, his starting salary depends to a large extent on the practices he has been trained in), and the plant manager (the Anglo-American origin of this position means that the ideal candidate is one who has experience in a

charter-accounting [sic] firm). And what of the future? Two new rare birds are on the horizon: the marketing auditor and the public-relations auditor.'

The portrait of the modern manager, as drawn in 1973, seems to have changed recently, no doubt because the recession is creating conditions more favourable to the old style of management (there is again a demand for the 'leader of men'—someone who, as an informant put it, 'can say no without explaining'—and an increased demand for production specialists and sales managers trained 'on the ground') and also because the engineering schools have reacted to the rise of the management schools (for example, the creation of the Institute for the Sciences of Action at Polytechnique in 1977). According to a survey published in *Le Nouvel Économiste* (November 8, 1976), which questioned the personnel directors of 5,000 companies, firms still look for 'open-mindedness', 'dynamism', 'capacity to adapt and relate', 'ability to synthesize' and 'self-motivation', but they also insist on 'loyalty' (at Saint-Gobain) and 'team spirit' (BSN and Oréal). Some 49 percent said they attached importance to candidates' views on politics and trade unions, 33 percent said they did not (18 percent did not reply).

distance, established by academic verdicts, between themselves and ordinary workers, or by meritocratic indignation at being treated like them, as by the sense of a real solidarity of condition; and, conversely, their anxious search for integration into the dominant class, either for themselves or for their children, always includes (to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the current state of their interests) an element of ambivalent resentment

towards prizes they can neither completely possess nor completely ignore and refuse.

All these dispositions characteristic of the 'cadre' category as a whole are perhaps most intensely developed among those, who, for lack of educational capital, or of the educational capital most valuable at a given moment or of the social capital needed to invest it profitably, are relegated to the position of technicians, i.e., executants without economic, political or cultural power. Bringing into the lower positions of the dominant class the petit-bourgeois dispositions which have brought them to those positions, they are opposed in almost all respects to the young executives from the grandes écoles and often from bourgeois families, who occupy a large proportion of the new positions created in the private sector.³¹

The dispersion of this fraction, a simple category of bureaucratic statistics, but also a movement of corporate defence which is affirmed in the representation it has and gives of itself, expresses the objective ambiguity of the position of the 'cadres', who are condemned to oscillate between collaboration and distance and therefore to be the object of annexation strategies which enable them to use their solidarity as a bargaining counter; it also stems from the fact that the term cadre is one of the titles which, as rewards attached to the occupation of a position, are important weapons and prizes in the games which are played in and on the gap between the nominal and the real.

Although the opposition between the new positions, with the corresponding life-style, and the established positions does not exactly coincide with the opposition between the private sector and the public sector, it is mainly among the private-sector executives that one finds the life-style characteristic of the 'new bourgeoisie'.³² And, although our survey only imperfectly captures the distinctive features of the new bourgeoisie,³³ it does register a set of slight but systematic oppositions between the public-sector executives—more often originating from the working and lower classes, and closer to the engineers—and the private-sector executives—younger, generally of higher social origin, often graduates of HEC or Sciences Po and closer to the professions. Private-sector executives buy slightly more often from antique dealers; choose Dali and Kandinsky rather than Vlaminck, Renoir and Van Gogh, who are preferred by the private-sector executives; choose the *Art of Fugue* and the *Concerto for the Left Hand* rather than *L'Arlésienne*, *La Traviata*, the *Twilight of the Gods*, *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* and *Scheherazade*; Aznavour, Françoise Hardy and Brassens rather than Bécaud, Piaf and Jacques Brel; philosophical essays and poetry rather than travel, history and the classics. They describe the ideal friend as artistic and stylish rather than conscientious, bon vivant and level-headed; the ideal interior as studied, imaginative and warm, rather than sober, harmonious and discreet. In short, differing little with respect to strict cultural competence (knowledge of composers), private- and public-sector executives are clearly opposed in all the areas which depend on ethos.

These differences would be even more marked did not each of the two categories contain a proportion of individuals whose characteristics are those dominant in the opposing category: graduates of the *grandes écoles*, of bourgeois origin, passing through high positions in the public sector and very close to *polytechnicien* engineers and the professions; private-sector executives from the working or middle classes, with low qualifications, who are very close to the public-sector executives and ordinary engineers.

But the new bourgeoisie is mainly characterized by its opposition to the old business bourgeoisie. Having achieved positions of power at an earlier age, more often being graduates, more often belonging to bigger, more modern firms, the private-sector executives are distinguished from the industrial and commercial employers, a traditional bourgeoisie with its spa holidays, its receptions and its 'society' obligations, by a more 'modernist', 'younger' life-style, certainly one that is more consistent with the new dominant definition of the dynamic manager (although the same opposition is found among the owner-employers).

Thus, they much more often read the financial daily *Les Echos* (penetration index 126, industrial employers 91) and economic weeklies (224, industrial employers 190); they seem less inclined to invest their capital in property; they much more often indulge in the sports that are at once smart, active and often 'cybernetic', such as sailing, skiing, water-skiing and tennis, followed by riding and golf; they more often play parlour games that are both 'intellectual' and smart, such as bridge and especially chess. Above all, they identify more fully with the role of the modern executive who is oriented towards the outside world (along with the public-sector executives and the engineers, they have the highest rate of foreign travel) and is open to modern ideas (as shown by their very frequent attendance at professional conferences or seminars). A final, apparently minor but very significant index of this opposition may be seen in the fact that private-sector executives far more often keep whisky in the house whereas the industrial and commercial employers remain most attached to champagne, the drink of tradition par excellence.³⁴

This combination of 'luxurious' and 'intellectual' properties, which seem incompatible because they are ordinarily associated with diametrically opposed positions in the dominant class, opposes the new business bourgeoisie both to the teachers and to the traditional industrialists, whose comfortable cars, hotel holidays, yachts and golf evoke ethical dispositions now regarded as rather *vieux jeu* ('old hat'). But it is also opposed to the professions, and their somewhat different combination of luxury and culture, by a strong integration into economic life, seen in the reading of economic and financial publications (*Les Echos*, *L'Expansion*, *Entreprise*) and by an occupational activity which implies a modernistic, cosmopolitan life-style, with its frequent foreign business trips (by air), its business lunches and cocktails, its conferences and seminars.

Business Tourism

'Reward seminars' and 'prestige seminars', as they are called in the native language, are part of the range of hidden profits which modern firms offer their executives. 'Residential seminars' (those which last longer than one day and take place away from company premises) provide business for one of the most flourishing industries. (It is estimated that 25,000 such 'seminars' were organized in 1973.) They involve the hotel chains which specialize in 'business tourism' (such as Novotel, Frantel, Sofitel, P.L.M., Méridien, Mercure and Motellerie); the agencies (such as Seminotel) which promote a set of hotels specializing in seminars and conferences in exchange for 4 percent of turnover; consultancy firms (such as CEGOS or SEMA) and their social psychologists, who offer à la carte (see the CEGOS 'catalogue' with its 294 'formats' at rates ranging from 200 to 600 francs per day) 'creativity seminars' together with 'facilitators' to

organize them. 'Séminarc' is the invention of an INSEAD graduate who has turned the mountain resort of Les Arcs into a seminar centre so as to keep it running during the six 'dead' months of spring and autumn. The economic weekly in which this information was found explains that 'spring and fall are ideal times for executive meditation' (*L'Expansion*, December 1973). The winter low season is reserved for 'updating-reward seminars for successful sales teams', while the high season receives the prestige seminars of 'top management' and big clients. Gilbert Trigano [president of Club Méditerranée], who can be regarded as an authority on these matters, says that 'in twenty years' time, the Club will be providing 50 percent pseudo-conferences and 50 percent real holidays.' Those who inquire into the causes of inflation would do well to take account (among other hidden factors) of the fact that businessmen, with their 'business tourism', their 'company gifts' and their company cars, are good business for businessmen.

A Seminarist Confesses

The angelic smiles of the Club hostesses, a smooth check-in, punctual take-off (did I tell you we were going to Tunisia?)—it has to be said, the journey was most agreeable, and so was our welcome at the village. 'Djerba la Douce' is a real little paradise. The groups from

**Your seminar
is our business.
Club Méditerranée.**

Lyons and Brussels arrived soon after, on special charter flights, like us. There was just time to slip into something more suited to the weather, and then we were introduced to the programme and the Club. After which, off we went to the Club's 'table of plenty', which, take it

from a connoisseur, certainly deserves its name. Next thing, I was in Bermuda shorts—how else would you go water-skiing?

Next day we got down to work, just in the morning, and that was the pattern each day. And the facilities are excellent: an attractive, well-equipped conference room with all the audio-visual aids, individual microphones and so on. The Club scores again.

Everyone responded to the atmosphere, and the debates and presentations were lively and positive.

The rest of the time was taken up with excursions, concerts, sport (never compulsory!), *dolce far niente* and shows, evening events and then, of course, the night club. And it was all rounded off with a gala farewell dinner.

So there you are: a great seminar. And productive, too. Everyone works better in congenial surroundings, where they can really relax. Forgive me for preaching, but is there anything better than the Club?

L'Expansion, no. 63, May 1973.

Three-Star Seminars*

Five hotels:

Hôtel des Trois Arcs (very comfortable)

Hôtel de la Cascade (luxury)

Hôtel Pierre Blanche (very comfortable)

Hôtel de la Cachette (top class)

Hotel du Golf (top class)

All rooms have *en suite* bathroom and W. C., telephone (automatic dialling within the resort), radio etc. Twelve

restaurants at Arc Pierre Blanche and on the peak. Two restaurants at Arc Chantel.



Seminars Where You Can Breathe

Nature has laid on everything at Les Arcs. The resort overlooks the valley of the Isère, which is here just a rushing

mountain torrent. The valley enjoys long hours of sunlight. Our bedrooms and seminar rooms alike offer a magnificent view of Mont Blanc.

Documentation Séminarc.

* The French word *séminaire*, translated as 'seminar', denotes here a business training conference; it retains its academic connotations, and, as in 'A Seminarist Confesses', the original meaning—a religious seminary—can be revived with humorous intention (translator).



Prices, 1975–1976

(1 December 1975–30 November 1976) 600 ‘three-star’ hotel rooms. Prices per day, per participant (francs).

<i>High season (school holidays, 24 January—20 March)</i>				
<i>Number of participants</i>	<i>Low season</i>	<i>2 d. 1 night 3 d. 2 nights</i>	<i>4 d. 3 nights</i>	<i>5 d. 4 nights 6 d. 4 nights 7 d. 6 nights</i>
10 to 25	170	250	235	205
26 to 50	165	245	230	200
51 to 75	160	240	225	195
76 to 100	155	235	220	190
101 to 200	145	230	195	185
201 to 300	135	225	190	180

I Have Met Happy Seminarists

If you’re looking for the perfect venue for a successful conference or seminar, the place you want is Mont d’Arbois near Megève (Haute Savoie), in the heart of the Mont Blanc Massif.

There I met seminarists and conference-goers who were tanned, relaxed and happy to be there. They were there to work, of course, but in a setting that helped them unwind and relax at the same time.

On the work side, the Mont d'Arbois Hotel meets the particular requirements of each firm. It's fully equipped with conference and committee rooms for groups from 20 to 200, audio-visual facilities, simultaneous translation booths. . . . The arrangement is always 'made to measure.'

There is easy access by air (Mont d'Arbois is 90 minutes from Paris by Air Alpes), by rail (night trains from Paris) and by road (a choice of routes).

On the entertainment side, it's Paradise. Depending on the time of year, you can ski in the heart of the fantastic Mont Blanc Massif or enjoy one of the most beautiful golf courses in France. Other facilities include tennis courts, an indoor swimming pool with a sauna and a gym.

For the less energetic, there are delightful walks in outstanding

countryside and the charming village of Megève with its many amenities. In the hotel itself, gala evenings are organized on request, with decorations, a band and even visiting stars. At meal times, enjoy the impeccable cuisine and attentive service offered by this top-class hotel.

And how much does it cost? The prices are actually very competitive, especially in September and December. Mr. Thommen or Mr. Ziegler at the Mont d'Arbois Hotel (tel. 50/ 21 25 03) will be glad to supply details to help you compare.

One final point: it has been proved that altitude stimulates the mental faculties. Mont d'Arbois is at 1,300 metres . . . so everyone will be in top form.

Enterprise, 31 May 1974 (advertisement).

In view of the decisive role of the reading of economic daily and weekly papers in defining the new bourgeoisie, it is important to recall that, according to a 1973 IFOP survey, 20 percent of the readers of *Entreprise* belong to firms employing more than 1,000 people; that 20 percent of them work in the chemical, aeronautical, automobile, engineering or electronics industries, although the corresponding firms numerically represent only 2.6 percent of French firms, and that only 6 percent of them work in construction or public works firms, whereas 13.5 percent of French firms are in this category; that there is a relatively high proportion of subscribers in financial establishments, services and distribution, in contrast to commercial firms, hotels, cafés and restaurants (which represent a very high proportion of French firms); that, within their firms, 4.6 percent of the readers are company heads or directors; that 15 percent of them are sales executives, 12 percent administrators and only 10 percent involved in production.³⁵ It is also clear (C.S. VI) that the readers of *Entreprise*, of *L'Expansion* (who would present similar, but no doubt still more accentuated, characteristics) and of *Les Echos* differ from the readers of other publications in that they enjoy talking about economics and business, they make frequent business trips within France and abroad, they use credit cards, they read foreign-language journals and they have contemporary furniture—a very equivocal indicator, although one does observe

elsewhere a systematic link between the new bourgeoisie and new urban areas, modern buildings and modern furniture. Further features of this new bourgeoisie are indicated by the characteristics of the alumni of INSEAD: drawn to a large extent from the traditional *patronat* (owner-employer class), they have acquired in this Atlantic-oriented institution (the teaching is largely given in English by an international teaching staff often trained in the USA) the capacities needed to achieve a successful reconversion towards executive positions (especially in sales and administration) in multinational companies, many of them U.S.-based. These 'dynamic young executives' read *L'Expansion* (63.5 percent), *L'Express* (53 percent) and *Entreprise* (33 percent), followed by *Le Nouvel Observateur* (22.5 percent); they ski (71.5 percent), play tennis (58 percent), go sailing (37 percent) and riding (23.5 percent). Their wives often work in the new occupations (10 percent of those who work are journalists, 6 percent interpreters, 12 percent doctors or psychologists); they share the same cosmopolitan dispositions (84 percent speak at least one foreign language) but remain more attached to the traditional forms of culture (28 percent go to a museum or exhibition at least once a month).³⁶

The classification struggle which is waged initially within firms, a struggle for supremacy between production and publicity, between engineering and marketing, in which each category of managers seeks to advance its occupational interests by imposing a scale of values which sets at the top of the hierarchy the functions for which it feels itself best equipped, and all the similar struggles which are fought out within the dominant fraction of the dominant class, are inseparable from conflicts of values which involve the participants' whole world views and arts of living,³⁷ because they oppose not only different sectional interests but different scholastic and occupational careers and, through them, different social recruitment areas and therefore ultimate differences in habitus. Thus, for example, the financial managers of the largest firms,³⁸ who are almost all Sciences Po or HEC graduates, who possess a large social capital (family connections, their respective 'old-boy networks'), often belong to clubs, are almost all in *Who's Who* and very often in the *Bottin mondain* (the *Who's Who* of the French aristocracy), are no doubt opposed in every aspect of life-style to the 'research and development' managers, who are generally engineering-school graduates, are more often of working- or middle-class origin and have pastimes very similar to those of the teachers (mountaineering, walking etc.).

This means that changes in posts (and their occupants) are inevitably accompanied by a whole effort at symbolic restructuring aimed at winning recognition in representations and therefore by a permanent struggle between those who seek to impose the new system of classification and those who defend the old system. Taste is at the heart of these symbolic struggles, which go on at all times between the fractions of the dominant class and

which would be less absolute, less total, if they were not based on the primary belief which binds each agent to his life-style. A materialist reduction of preferences to their economic and social conditions of production and to the social functions of the seemingly most disinterested practices must not obscure the fact that, in matters of culture, investments are not only economic but also psychological. Conflicts over art or the art of living, in which what is really at stake is the imposition of the dominant principle of domination within the dominant class—or, to put it another way, the securing of the best conversion rate for the type of capital with which each group is best provided—would not be so dramatic (as they are, for example, in debates over the school curriculum) if they did not involve the ultimate values of the person, a highly sublimated form of interests.

The new bourgeoisie is the initiator of the ethical retooling required by the new economy from which it draws its power and profits, whose functioning depends as much on the production of needs and consumers as on the production of goods. The new logic of the economy rejects the ascetic ethic of production and accumulation, based on abstinence, sobriety, saving and calculation, in favour of a hedonistic morality of consumption, based on credit, spending and enjoyment. This economy demands a social world which judges people by their capacity for consumption, their 'standard of living', their life-style, as much as by their capacity for production. It finds ardent spokesmen in the new bourgeoisie of the vendors of symbolic goods and services, the directors and executives of firms in tourism and journalism, publishing and the cinema, fashion and advertising, decoration and property development. Through their slyly imperative advice and the example of their consciously 'model' life-style, the new taste-makers propose a morality which boils down to an art of consuming, spending and enjoying. Through injunctions masquerading as advice or warnings, they maintain, especially among women, the privileged consumer subjects and objects, the fear of not living up to the innumerable duties entailed by the 'liberated' life-style, and the awareness of not possessing the dispositions needed to fulfil them, a new form of the sense of moral unworthiness.

Composed of members of the dominant fractions who have reconverted to adapt to the new mode of profit appropriation, the new bourgeoisie is in the vanguard of the transformation of ethical dispositions and world views occurring within the bourgeoisie as a whole, which (as table 22 shows) is itself in the vanguard of a general transformation of life-style which is particularly manifest in the division of labour between the sexes and the method of imposing domination. This is the fraction which imports (from the USA) the new mode of domination, based on 'velvet glove' methods, at school, in church or in industry, and on the 'relaxed' life-style which starts by euphemizing all the manifestations of social distance (especially sartorial ones) and

Table 22 Class-fraction variations in moral attitudes.^a

<i>Moral attitude</i>	<i>Positive responses, by class fraction (%)</i>					
	<i>Farm workers</i>	<i>Indust. comm. employers</i>	<i>Manual workers</i>	<i>Clerical, junior execs.</i>	<i>Senior execs., professions</i>	
A boy can go out alone before age 18 (1959)	39	29	42	40	62	
A girl can go out alone before age 18 (1959)	12	5	14	14	26	
Boys of 18 should be allowed to see any films they want to (1971)	56	62	69	70	69	
Girls of 18 should be allowed to see any films they want to (1971)	55	58	63	66	66	
Mixed schools are a good thing for boys' upbringing (1971)	59	64	75	81	87	
Mixed schools are a good thing for girls' upbringing (1971)	55	64	74	78	86	
Unmarried minors should be allowed to buy the pill without parental authorization (1967)	8	18	13	20	32	
Abortion is not murder (1971)	24	b	44	56	47	
It is better to trust one's children and leave them plenty of scope for initiative (1972)	60	60	58	65	70	
Young people cannot live without spending a certain amount of money (1972)	34	41	42	48	41	
A boy should not go out alone until at least age 18 (1959)	58	71	56	58	38	
A girl should not go out alone until at least age 18 (1959)	83	88	82	82	70	
Boys of 18 should not be allowed to see all the films they want to (1971)	38	33	25	26	26	
Girls of 18 should not be allowed to see all the films they want to (1971)	38	38	31	30	28	
Mixed schools are a bad thing for boys' upbringing (1971)	21	22	18	13	8	
Mixed schools are a bad thing for girls' upbringing (1971)	24	24	20	15	9	

Unmarried minors should be allowed to buy the pill only with parental authorization (1967)	74	70	78	76	62
Abortion is murder (1971)	59	b	43	36	43
It is better to tell children what to do and avoid appearing weak-minded (1972)	36	34	40	29	25
Young people spend too much money (1971)	50	47	45	37	37

Source: Institut français d'opinion publique (IFOP). Dates of surveys as indicated.

a. *Italic figures indicate the strongest tendency in each row.*

b. In this survey, the employers were grouped with the senior executives and members of the professions.

by studiously rejecting the aristocratic stiffness that tends to create distance. After so much historical work on the symbolism of power, it would be naive not to see that fashions in clothing and cosmetics are a basic element in the mode of domination. And the whole opposition between the *vieux jeu* and the *nouveau jeu*, between the old-style authoritarian industrialist and the modern manager, tuned in to the latest techniques of business administration, public relations and group dynamics, can be read in the opposition between the pot-bellied, pompous *patron* and the slim, sun-tanned *cadre*, who is as 'casual' in his dress as in his manner, as 'relaxed' at cocktail parties as in his relations with those he calls his 'social partners'.

Bourgeois distinction is still defined, both in speech and bearing, by relaxation in tension, ease within restraint, a rare and highly improbable combination of antagonistic properties. Everything takes place as if what was at stake in the struggle between the old bourgeoisie and the new was the primacy given to one or the other of the contraries which distinction has to reconcile. Whereas the juniors of the dominant class and the new bourgeoisie denounce the 'up-tight', 'stuffed-shirt' rigour of the old bourgeoisie and preach 'relaxation' and a 'laid-back' life-style, the old bourgeoisie condemns the 'sloppy' life-style of the new bourgeoisie and calls for more restraint in language and morals.

A sort of composite picture of the bodily hexis of the new bourgeoisie could be drawn from the portraits of 'the property development men' presented by the magazine *Enterprise* (no. 894, 27 October 1972). Here are two exemplary specimens: 'Tall, slim, tanned W.S., age 32, with grey suit and horn-rimmed spectacles, law degree, a graduate of the Paris Ecole Supérieure de Commerce, son of an industrialist, tells us he loves his work but makes time to play golf and tennis and read the occasional modern novel.' 'Tall, slim, receding hairline, smiling J.C.A., 55, law degree, son of a Paris stock-market financier, is as much at ease with his peers as when negotiating with ministers . . . He has not played poker for several years, but in his moments of leisure he liked to "breathe" on a golf course or play the organ.' Thus, the ideal or ideal-typical property developer originates from the big business bourgeoisie, has attended a major Paris lycée followed by higher education, loves art or classical music and goes in for at least one of the smart sports, often skiing, golf or tennis, but also riding, underwater fishing, sailing, hunting or flying—as indicated by his 'athletic looks', his 'sun-tanned face', and negatively, by his 'slimness'. As for his use of clothing, which, as I have shown in another study,³⁹ is bound up with this relation to the body and the ethical dispositions it expresses, I need only quote an article in *Le Figaro* (1 December 1975) which, after telling us that Antoine Riboud, managing director of BSN, likes relaxed, sporty clothes and that Gilbert Trigano (Club Méditerranée) rarely wears a tie, confirms that clothing, like language or any other property, enters the quasi-conscious strategies of manipulation: 'A young French businessman told us: "I have three styles. When I go to Regional Development Council meetings, where I

The objects are not there to fulfil a technical or even aesthetic function, but quite simply to symbolize that function and to solemnize it by their age, to which their patina bears witness. Being defined as the instruments of a ritual, they are never questioned as to their function or convenience. They are part of the ‘taken for granted’ necessity to which their users must adapt themselves.



‘In a bourgeois block . . . a resolutely modern, but not revolutionary, apartment’: the home of Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, as described by the magazine *Maison et Jardin*. ‘Everything is subordinated to comfort and efficiency: The Servan-Schreiber bedroom. The silver-papered walls are lit by a battery of

three spotlights. . . . On either side of the bed, aeronautical-style hatches lead to the bathroom. As an ultimate refinement, a bedside switch operates the bathroom lights.’

Maison et Jardin, April 1970.

meet bankers and civil servants, I have to dress very correctly. For normal business, my clothes are fairly 'way-out', because I work in furnishings, which is close to decoration. To visit factories, I *clock in* in a leather jacket and a polo-neck" (italics mine).

The life-style of the new ethical avant-garde very directly expresses the asset structure which is the basis of its power and its conditions of existence. Executives in major national firms, public or private (a somewhat artificial distinction, at this level), or heads of large, modern, often multinational companies, they are not attached to a place like the proprietors of small local firms, local notables whose prestige is inseparable from a world of real interactions and personal representation. The new executives look to a 'centre', their headquarters, for directives and promotion; a large part of their prestige and power derives from academic qualifications which are themselves national or international; they are much less dependent on local privilege and prestige, which are increasingly devalued as the economic and symbolic markets are unified, setting them in the national or international hierarchy. Convinced that they owe their position solely to their qualifications and to the technical and 'human' competence ('dynamism', 'competitive spirit') which they are believed to guarantee, imbued with the economic-political culture taught in the political science institutes or business schools and with the modernistic economic and social world view which is bound up with it and which they help to produce in their conferences, commissions and seminars, these 'cadres dynamiques' have abandoned the champagne of the *vieille France* industrialists (and the whole view of the world, and of France, and of France in the world, which went with it) for the whisky of American-style managers, the cult of 'literature' (delegated to their wives) and economic news which they read in English. Being both the negation and the future of the old-style patrons, of whom they are often the heirs, and from whom they are only separated, in the end, by time, and therefore often by age—which can make it seem like a question of generation in the ordinary sense—they are the ones who transcend, the better to conserve.

Not only the internal structure of the dominant fractions, but also the structure of the relations between the dominant and the dominated fractions tend to be profoundly changed when a growing proportion of the ruling fraction derives, if not its power, at least the legitimacy of its power from educational capital acquired in formally pure and perfect academic competition, rather than directly from economic capital. The new culture of the new masters of the economy, a rationalization of their world view which tends to be ever more widely accepted as 'management science' is developed within the discipline of economics, provides them with the sense of possessing an authority of intellectual right over the conduct of society.⁴⁰ Thus the oppos-

ition between the 'disinterested' culture of the intellectual and the 'philistinism' of the bourgeois, preoccupied with the mundane interests of his practice, gives way, and not only among the new bourgeoisie, to the opposition between the gratuitous, unreal, unrealistic culture of the intellectual and the economic or polytechnical culture of 'modern managers', which sees itself as action-oriented but irreducible to the triviality of mere 'practice'.

If old-style intellectuals continue to preserve an apparent monopoly over legitimate cultural practices, or at least over the definition of these practices, this is perhaps due to the inertia of the institutions of cultural production and diffusion (in particular, the educational system) and the hysteresis of habitus, which are continuously reinforced by the fact that literary and artistic culture remains the form par excellence of disinterested culture, and consequently the most legitimate of the marks of distinction from other classes; and also, no doubt, to the division of labour between the sexes, which confines women to the privilege of judging taste and the tasks of maintaining cultural capital in its traditional form, reserving the new culture, turned towards action, business and power, for men. This only confirms the tendency of the ruling fractions to conceive the opposition between the 'man of action' and the 'intellectual' as a variant of the opposition between male and female.

TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL POWERS

The different forms of capital, the possession of which defines class membership and the distribution of which determines position in the power relations constituting the field of power and also determines the strategies available for use in these struggles—'birth', 'fortune' and 'talent' in a past age, now economic capital and educational capital—are simultaneously instruments of power and stakes in the struggle for power; they are unequally powerful in real terms and unequally recognized as legitimate principles of authority or signs of distinction, at different moments and, of course, by the different fractions. The definition of the hierarchy between the fractions, or, which amounts to the same thing, the definition of the legitimate hierarchizing principles, i.e., the legitimate instruments and stakes of struggle, is itself a stake in struggles between the fractions.⁴¹

Because those who take part in a game agree on the stakes, at least sufficiently to fight for them, one may choose to emphasize either the complicities which unite them in hostility or the hostilities which separate them in complicity. One only needs to consider, for example, the highly ambivalent relations between artists and the patrons of art, who, at least in the nineteenth century, are often also patrons of business. The latter respond with a sort of paternalistic patronage to the symbolic provocations of the artists, in the name of a not-so-unrealistic image of what the producers of cultural goods

really are, that is, deviant children of the bourgeoisie or 'poor relations' forced into alternative trajectories; the patrons may even find a pretext for their exploitation of the artists in their conspicuous concern to protect them from the consequence of their 'idealism' and their lack of 'practical' sense.⁴² For their part, intellectuals and especially artists may find in the structural homology between the relationship of the dominated classes to the dominant class and the relationship of the dominated fractions to the dominant fractions the basis of a felt and sometimes real solidarity with the dominated classes. At the same time they are able to play on the symbolic licence which the 'bourgeois' are in a sense obliged to grant them, if only because they are obliged to recognize the supreme affirmation of their spiritual point of honour in the negation of popular materialism implied in the artistic negation of 'bourgeois' materialism.

Those who occupy the temporally dominant position within the dominant class are in fact placed in a contradictory situation, which inclines them to maintain an ambivalent relationship with cultural goods and those who produce them. Castigated by the intellectuals and artists for philistine materialism and anti-intellectual machismo, when they define themselves in relation to the dominated classes they have to invoke the very terms used against them by the intellectuals and artists. And they cannot be entirely satisfied with the solution offered by 'their' intellectuals and 'their' artists (i.e., the intellectuals and artists who occupy within the field of cultural production a temporally—and temporarily—dominant position, homologous to their own position in the dominant class); the very relationship to temporal power and to the associated profits which defines the 'bourgeois' intellectual or artist compromises the 'disinterestedness' which, even in the eyes of the dominant fraction, specifically defines intellectuals and artists.

Intellectuals and artists are so situated in social space that they have a particular interest in disinterestedness and in all the values that are universal and universally recognized as highest (the more so the closer they are to the dominated pole of the field of cultural production). The ideological strategies they use to discredit the activities of the opposing fraction in the space of the dominant class (of which the left-bank critics' remarks about right-bank theatre give a fair idea) owe their quasi-automatic perfection to the fact that, given the chiasmic structure of the distribution of the different sorts of capital, whereby the first in one order are likely to be the last in another, they only have to make a virtue of necessity in order to discredit as arbitrary the 'virtues' corresponding to other necessities. The hope of an apocalyptic reversal of the temporal hierarchies which arises from the lived experience of the scandalous disparity between the hierarchy of 'temporal' greatness and the hierarchy of 'spiritual' greatness impresses itself as a practical self-evidence on cultural producers, especially those whose position in the field of

cultural production is homologous to the position of cultural producers as a whole in the field of the dominant class. Because they are opposed to those producers who offer products directly adjusted to the dominant taste and who are therefore temporally most recognized, just as the whole group of cultural producers is opposed to the dominant fractions, those writers and artists who are temporally—and temporarily—dominated, because their products must produce their own markets, are the predestined bearers of the eschatological hopes which, insofar as they support their ‘inner-worldly asceticism’ and their sense of ‘mission’, are the true opium of the intellectuals. The analogy with religion is not artificial: in each case the most indubitable transcendence with respect to strictly temporal interest springs from the immanence of struggles of interest.